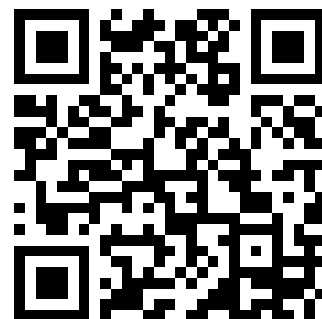


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# *The Scots men-at-arms and life-guards in France*



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THE  
SCOTS MEN-AT-ARMS  
AND  
LIFE-GUARDS IN FRANCE.



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THE  
SCOTS MEN-AT-ARMS  
AND  
LIFE-GUARDS IN FRANCE

*From their Formation until their final Dissolution*

A.D. MCCCCXVIII.-MDCCCXXX.

By WILLIAM FORBES-LEITH, S.J.

WITH ETCHED PLATES, BY MAJOR H. DE GRANDMAISON.

*"For so long a time as they have served in France, never hath there been one of them found  
that hath committed any fault against the Kings or their State."*

*—Messire CLAUDE DE SEYSSEL, Master of Requests to Louis XII.*

VOLUME FIRST.

EDINBURGH: WILLIAM PATERSON

MDCCCLXXXII



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## P R E F A C E

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THE object of the following pages is to bring to light many documents which have preserved interesting particulars relating to the History of Scotland, and which, being now scattered through extensive collections abroad, are accessible to very few persons.

The documents here introduced illustrate the diplomatic negotiations between Scotland and France in 1418 and the following years, which ended in the landing of Scottish troops in France,<sup>1</sup> and prove that this intervention was effected on a larger scale than has been supposed by our historians; while a glance at the "Muster Rolls" will show that the contingents sent to France were composed of the flower of Scottish families.

The greater number of them were never to see Scotland again. The account of the long war in France from 1418 to 1444, in which so many thousands of them perished, is traced with as much detail as could be found in old contemporary chronicles, some of which have recently been discovered, and they fully justify the solemn declaration of Louis XII., that the institution of the celebrated companies of Scots Men-at-arms and Scots Life-guards "was an acknowledgment of the service the Scots rendered to Charles VII. in reducing France to his obedience, and of the great loyalty and virtue he found in them."<sup>2</sup>

The history of those two companies in the following reigns is not less interesting. From first to last, the Scots Men-at-arms, whom

<sup>1</sup> Whilst this work was in the press, the first volume of M. de Beaucourt's remarkable History of Charles VII. was published. It contains many interesting documents on this period of Scottish history, the substance of which will be found in the "Notes and Illustrations," vol. ii., p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 56.

Francis I. used to call "the arm that bears my sceptre," affords an unparalleled example in European military annals of a corps lasting uninterruptedly for 380 years without material transformation as to organisation and military service. "Under the title of Scots Men-at-arms," says General Susanne, "one might write the history of the wars waged by France from the days of Joan of Arc to the Revolution."<sup>1</sup>

The Scots Guards were at the head of the French army in all the great battles fought under the monarchy, and for nearly 300 years the Kings of France were guarded by them. They became famous for their unswerving fidelity; and what a minister of Louis XII. said of them a hundred years after their institution, that "there had never been one of them found to have committed any fault against the kings or their state," was proclaimed again, a century later, by Henry IV., when he granted them new privileges, "whereof they had rendered themselves worthy through the affection and fidelity which they had borne the crown of France."<sup>2</sup>

With the aid of the "Muster Rolls," which are here published for the first time, and which extend over a period of nearly 400 years, many Scottish families will be able in future to distinguish the names of their ancestors who were actors in the great military achievements of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

The "Notes and Illustrations" will be found to contain some interesting documents hitherto unknown on the diplomatic negotiations between Scotland and France in the reign of James I., on the "Battle of Baugé,"<sup>4</sup> and on the date of the institution of the Scots Guards.<sup>5</sup> In 1645 the first English Revolution gave rise to a large emigration of royalists, affording materials for the formation of Scottish regiments, to which others were added after the execution of Charles I. A long account of these is given in the "Notes and Illustrations."<sup>6</sup> In the "List of Estates possessed by the Scots Guards in France," the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Proper names have been given as they stand in the chronicles and manuscripts. Cf. "Notes and Illustrations"—"Important Observations on the Muster Rolls," vol. ii., p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii., p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

names and titles thus brought together will show how thoroughly France has been impregnated with good Scottish blood.

The present records are chiefly based upon the following authorities: contemporary Chronicles and Memoirs, State Papers and Manuscripts in the Public Records Office, and chiefly in the *Archives* and in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, and other collections.

The editor acknowledges, with thanks, the communications and assistance rendered him by Major H. de Grandmaison, who has taken much generous trouble in the production of this history; M. Francisque-Michel, and the late Dr David Laing. His thanks are also due to the Rev. J. T. Walford, S.J., for revising and passing the volumes through the press.





# ERRATA.

## VOL. I.

- Page 10. *For "Bazin," read "Basin."*
- „ 13. *Idem.*
- „ 16. "On the 17th of March, 1421, . . . Sir John Stewart," etc.—Sir John Stewart passed through Orleans a year later—on the 17th of March, 1422.
- „ 20. *For "Concessaut," read "Concessault."*
- „ 21. „ "Où vent aller ce damoiseaulx?" *read "Où veut aller."*
- „ 25. „ "Guill<sup>e</sup> Douglaz," *read "Guillaume Douglaz."*
- „ 78. „ "Seigneur d'Auzon," *read "d'Oyson."*
- „ 85, 18th line. *For "He fell at Flodden," read "James fell at Flodden."*
- „ 164. *For "Quentin Porter," read "Portier;" for "Wate Blac," read "Hoat Blac;" for "Guill<sup>e</sup> Morvil," read "Moroil"*
- „ 165. *After "Henri de Houed," "Jehan Mirched," omitted.*
- „ 166. *For "Alain Damehoye," read "Damehaye;" after "Jehan Abouticq," "Robin Gray," omitted.*
- „ 167. „ "James Honeter," *read "Honetet."*
- „ 168. „ "Wast Criston," *read "Priston;" for "Fardin," read "Stardun."* The following names have been omitted: Guilbert Allovent, Francois de Montheault, Le Marquis d'Arques, Nicolas Delacroix, Joe Cocquoing, Petit Jehan Guybin, Alixandre Dromeur, Guillaume de Cadilhac, Henry Bar Bancar, Balthasar Guenart, Philippes Scot, Joe Guinebaut, Nicolas Terron, Jehan Pamehault, Marc d'Angleve, Yvonnnet de Sommières, Simon Carre, Michel de Villebresme, Francoys de Mirembel, Jehan de Rochefort, Ambroys Affluet, Jehan de Menestoyon, Petit Jehan Delaunoy.

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# PART I.

SCOTTISH TROOPS IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE.





A

# HISTORY OF THE SCOTS MEN-AT-ARMS AND LIFE-GUARDS IN FRANCE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### FIRST FORMATION OF THE SCOTS GUARDS.

“The institution of the Scots Guards was an acknowledgment of the service the Scots rendered to Charles VII. in reducing France to his obedience, and of the great loyalty and virtue which he found in them.”—Louis XII., King of France (*Letters of General Naturalisation for the whole Scottish Nation in France*).—DANIEL, *Histoire de la milice Française*, vol. ii., p. 104.

NEVER was France so low as under Charles VI. The death of Charles V. had thrown the government into the hands of a youthful prince, whose irregularities soon ended in the loss of his reason. The confusion occasioned by the dreadful disasters of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt was greatly heightened by the mental infirmities of Charles VI. While the king remained in a condition bordering on chronic insanity, not only the great vassals of the crown, but even members of his own household vied in seeking how they might best take advantage of his infirmity, and collect money extorted from the life-blood of the wretched peasantry.

Foremost on the list was his wife, Isabella of Bavaria, and his brother Louis, Duke of Orleans. Their expenditure was boundless,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chroniques de S. Denys, vol. iii., pp. 266, 330, 460. Paris, 1841, 6 vols. 4to.

and it was supported by measures of the most unscrupulous dishonesty. Both ground down the people with enormous taxes, which were never applied to the purposes for which they were exacted.<sup>1</sup> The money so collected was squandered by the duke and the queen upon their pleasures.

Their example was followed by the king's own counsellors, Tanneguy Duchâtel, Louvet, and Giac, to whom the public treasury was entrusted. This lamentable state of things aroused the anger of Hugues de Combarel, Bishop of Poitiers, who spoke out before the king in the Assembly of Melun, declaring that it was time to put a stop to these abuses. When the king had retired to his chamber, De Giac, one of his majesty's most trusted advisers, known to be appropriating to his own uses the large sums voted for carrying out the war, openly declared that he would like to throw the bishop and his adherents into the river.<sup>2</sup>

To convey an idea of the distress under which France then laboured, is beyond the power of general terms. The roads were impassable, not so much on account of the English troops, as because they were beset with armed bands, which, as they passed, swept the land clean. Children were carried off from their parents, and if not redeemed by an exorbitant ransom, were either drowned or massacred.<sup>3</sup> There was everywhere one wild thirst for blood, a craving after the infliction of suffering. The Count de Ligny, having taken some prisoners, permitted his nephew, the Count de Saint Pol, then fifteen years of age, to kill them with his own hand. The entire population seemed frenzied. "Treading under foot the fear of God and man, they swept over the land with the fury of a tempest: their only thought was of plunder, fire, and bloodshed."<sup>4</sup>

The condition of the rural districts was most distressing. Thomas Bazin, Bishop of Lisieux, tells us that he was an eye-witness of the

<sup>1</sup> *Chroniques de S. Denys*, vol. iii., pp. 141, 229.

<sup>2</sup> Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. i., p. 445. Paris, 1862, 3 vols. 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Bazin, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. i., pp. 45, 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Chroniques de S. Denys*, *l. c.*

state to which at that time France was reduced. "From Chartres on the west to the frontiers of Hainault on the east, and to the north as far as Abbeville, all was a desert. A few patches of cultivated land or vineyard might here and there be seen, but very rarely, and never but in the immediate neighbourhood of a castle or a walled town. Whenever the labourer ventured out into this enclosure, a watchman took his stand upon the watch-tower, that he might blow his horn on the approach of the enemy, never far distant. So familiar had the sound become, so thoroughly was its meaning understood, that even the oxen and the sheep hurried homewards when they heard its first note of warning."

Such was the state of France, when, on the 1st of August, 1417, Henry V. landed with a considerable army at La Hogue Saint-Waast in Normandy. No preparation had been made for opposing him, and he marched forward, taking possession of all the towns in his way. The factions of France, as on Henry's former invasion, were too much occupied in their mutual contests to observe the progress of the English king.

At last, when he had conquered the whole of Normandy, the contending parties began to look about them, and to consider, when too late, what was to be done. Meanwhile, the Burgundians, allies of Henry, invaded Paris; they failed in their attempt to seize the Dauphin Charles, but murdered the Count d'Armagnac who commanded the royal troops, massacred a great number of his partisans, and took possession of the capital. With all possible speed Charles endeavoured to assemble an army against Henry. But the young Dauphin and the King of England were most unequally matched. At this time Charles was a selfish spendthrift, an idle pleasure-seeker; while Henry was active, prudent, and enterprising. The only provinces which Charles could call his own were Languedoc, Dauphiny, and Lyons. The English had entrenched themselves in Normandy. The occupation of Paris and its environs by their ally, the Duke of Burgundy, gave them an immense moral influence over the rest of the kingdom. The duke placed Artois, Flanders, Picardy, and Champagne

at their disposal. They were now pushing their conquests towards the Loire, and town after town fell before them. Nearly the whole of the French seaboard was in their hands. Charles had but one seaport left to him, that of La Rochelle. He had no regular army; there were Marshals and Constables of France, Grand-Masters of the crossbows, but they had few troops and much less authority, for even the few were unwilling to obey. The only troops which still followed his standard were adventurers, whose chief object was plunder, and who robbed the people they were supposed to be defending, when they could not despoil the enemy. The English, on the other hand, were well trained and ably officered. The subjugation of France seemed all but certain.

Reduced to the lowest ebb by his own rebellious subjects, Charles sent ambassadors to all the princes in alliance with France to ask for aid, and particularly to Scotland, trusting that, from the ancient alliance with that country, he might the more readily expect effective assistance. Towards the end of 1418, Charles the Dauphin sent ambassadors to the Scottish court, craving the aid of Scotland against King Henry. A Parliament having been immediately assembled, it was decided by Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany and Regent of Scotland, to send into France a large auxiliary force under the command of his second son, Sir John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wigtown, and Sir John Stewart of Darnley, whom the Dauphin himself seems to have selected.<sup>1</sup> The vessels for the transport of these forces were to be furnished by France; and the King of Castile, with the Infant of Arragon, allies of the Scots, had promised to fit out forty ships for the emergency.<sup>2</sup> On the 22d July, 1419, the town authorities of Bayonne informed Henry V. of these preparations, and on the 12th of August the Duke of Bedford received orders to intercept the Scotch auxiliaries.<sup>3</sup> But this order was neglected, or arrived too late. On the 17th of May 1419, Sir William

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Charles VII., 6th March 1422; Archives Nationales, K. 68, No. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc., ed. iii., vol. iv., part 3, pp. 128, 131, 132.





POVRTRAIT DVNE TAPISSERIE FAITE Y ADEVX CENS ANS, OV  
SON ENTREE EN LA VILLE DE RHEIMS POVR Y ESTRE



pour le conseil de iehomme la pucelle  
Jusques a reims et verale ne celle

A. La ville de Rheims. | B. Le Roy Charles VII. | C. Le Duc de Bourbon | D. Le D  
F. Archers des gardes du corps du Roy qui n'ont en leurs  
G. La Pucelle d'Orleans qui porte le Guidon de France, et condu  
H. Les gardes de la Pucelle qui portent arquebuses des ce temps la au lieu d'ars | I. les  
K. Le Duc de Lorraine et | L. le Cardinal Duc de Bar accompagnant ledit Duc de Lorr  
assister a son Sacre, comme par inspiration de Dieu. luy ayant fu



CEST REPRESENTE LE ROY CHARLES VII ALLANT FAIRE  
 LE SACRE A LA CONDVIE DE LA PVCELLE DORLEANS. 1429.

Charles VII en grant train fut mené  
 Et Quant ce dit lieu il ne fut couronné



Le Duc D'Alençon / E. premier valet de Chambre du Roy, qui porte sa-  
 casaque pour devise du Roy que son nom seulement Charles.  
 Le Roy pour estre sacre à Rhams ayant les Trompettes devant elle  
 Le Pere et Mere de la Pucelle qui viennent avec le bagage du Roy par autre chemin  
 Le duc son Neveu, qui vindrent ledit iour se rendre au Roy avec leurs troupes, pour  
 la guerre auparavant avec les Bourguignons et Anglois.

J. Poinssort f





Douglas had already landed in France with 150 men-at-arms and 300 archers. On the 26th of August, 1419, we find him stationed with his troops at Puiset in Beauce. He had under his command—Sir Thomas Kilpatrick, William Fresal, John Tod, Thomas Cunyngham, John Ofur, David Fleming, John of Meldrum, Andry of Meldrum, Alexander de Alexandry, William Flocart; each of these captains commanded a body of men-at-arms and archers.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Seaton and his brother, each at the head of such a company, were then conspicuous amongst the most faithful followers of the Dauphin. Thomas was favoured with the estate of Langeais, and appointed to accompany Charles wherever he went.<sup>2</sup>

The Earl of Buchan embarked later with a body of troops, stated by Buchanan to be 7000, and by Balfour in his "*Annales*," Jean Raoulet,<sup>3</sup> and others, to be 10,000 men.<sup>4</sup> The Spanish fleet landed Buchan and his army at La Rochelle in September 1419. These troops were thoroughly trained soldiers, who had been hardened in long and bloody wars for national freedom. All were accoutred in the order of Scottish armour and arms, which by the laws of that period were plate-mail from head to heel for every man possessed of land yielding an annual rent of £20, with battle-axe, two-handed sword, and iron mace or spear; persons of inferior rank, worth only £10 of yearly rent, or £50 in goods, had to provide themselves with helmet and gorget, vambrace, rerebrace, corslet, and greaves.<sup>5</sup>

If we look at the conditions under which this invasion was accomplished, it can hardly be denied that it was a great achievement. In those days it was no easy matter for 8000 or 9000 troops to pass from

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres, No. 684; MSS. fond français, No. 7858, fol. 361; Juvénal des Ursins, *Panthéon Litt.*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, fond français Gaignières, No. 781, fol. 123; Cabinet des Titres, Nos. 684, 685; Archives Nationales, K.K. 53, fol. 6, recto.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronique de Charles VII.*, par Jean Chartier, ed. by Vallet de Viriville, vol. iii.; *Chronique de Jean Raoulet*, p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Th. Bazin speaks of 20,000 men (*Histoire des Règnes de Charles VII. et de Louis XI.*), vol. i., liv. 2, ch. iii., p. 48. Paris, 1865, 2 vols. 8vo.

<sup>5</sup> *The Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 752; *Fragmenta*, Appendix V.

Scotland to France in carracks and row-galleys, which for seaworthiness were little better than rafts, and which ran no small risk of falling a prey to English cruisers. These difficulties were greatly increased by the fact that La Rochelle was the only port at which they could attempt to land.

On his arrival, Buchan received the news that a great blow had just been struck by the Dauphin. Accompanied by some of the Scottish troops commanded by Sir William Douglas, the Dauphin had gone to meet the Duke of Burgundy at Montereau-faut-Yonne;<sup>1</sup> but none of the Scotch captains were present at the interview on the 12th of August, 1419, when the duke was killed.

The death of Jean-sans-Peur inflamed the people against the Dauphin, who was very unjustly supposed to be accessory to the crime;<sup>2</sup> and in many cities it caused Henry to be acknowledged as presumptive heir to the crown of France. It also secured for him the whole weight of the immense influence of the new duke. Philip, son of the slaughtered duke, immediately entered into a close alliance with the English, and pledged himself to avenge his father's blood upon the Dauphin and his adherents. On the 21st of May, 1420, he forced Charles VI. to sign the disgraceful treaty of Troyes, by which Charles gave his daughter, Madame Katherine, in marriage to Henry of England, disinherited his son, and declared the crown of France to be united with that of England in the person of Henry V. and his issue.

On the first Sunday of Advent, Henry entered Paris triumphantly. The treaty of Troyes was confirmed by the oaths of allegiance on the part of the citizens, and the greatest part of the towns of France followed the example of the capital.

The Dauphin directed Buchan and his Scots upon the Loire, and quartered them in the little town of Chatillon in the duchy of Touraine. There the two chiefs, retaining for themselves the most valiant of the Scotch knights, chose a certain number of captains, each of whom, at

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres, Nos. 684, 685, and Gaignières MS., 781.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. a remarkable article in the "Revue des Questions Historiques," by M. le Marquis de Beaucourt, 1868, p. 189.

the head of a squadron, was appointed to watch the frontier against the Duke of Clarence, who was rapidly subjugating the provinces and places that remained unconquered.<sup>1</sup>

Buchan went to the relief of Courville,<sup>2</sup> besieged by the English, whilst others, in January 1420, accompanied the Dauphin in his march towards Languedoc.<sup>3</sup> Within a few months Charles made himself master of the whole centre of France, save the Maconnais, and on the 8th of June he returned to Poitiers.

Charles highly valued his northern auxiliaries, and earnestly besought the Scots to send him reinforcements. Towards the month of January 1421, Sir John Stewart of Darneley, at the head of 4000 or 5000 Scots, crossed the sea and landed at La Rochelle.<sup>4</sup> Sir William Stewart, brother of Sir John, was left in charge of the town,<sup>5</sup> the last seaport, as we have said, which remained to the King of France. On the 7th of January, Charles left Melun to meet his auxiliaries. He received them at Poitiers with marked welcome and hospitality.

Shortly after their arrival, towards the month of February, 1500 French and Scots had gathered at Le Mans to deliver Fresnay-le-Comte, besieged by the English. An engagement took place, and the advantage remained with the latter. Three thousand of the allies lost their lives, and seven Scotch knights their liberty. Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig took flight, leaving his banner in the hands of the enemy, which was taken to Rouen, and presented to the Church of St Mary. In that battle the auxiliaries of France lost all the gold they had received as stipend, to the amount, says the chronicler, of twelve thousand crowns.<sup>6</sup> Shortly after, the Duke of Clarence invaded Le

<sup>1</sup> Monstrelet, ch. ccxxiv., ed. Panthéon Litt., p. 467, col. 2, ann. 1419; Book of Pluscarden, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> Catalogue Anal. des Archives de M. le Baron de Joursanvault, vol. ii., p. 145, No. 2976.

<sup>3</sup> Berry, ap. Godefroy, p. 439; Raoulet, ap. Chartier, vol. iii., p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> Itinéraire de Charles VII., Accounts, etc.; J. Chartier, Chroniq. de Charles VII., ed. Vallet, vol. iii., pp. 315, 318. Other documents, kindly communicated by the Marquis de Beaucourt, prove that they were at La Rochelle in February 1421.

<sup>5</sup> Account of Hamon Raguior for 1422, Geneal. History of the Stewarts, p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Historia polichronica, Bodl. MS., Digby, No. 201, fol. 281, recto, col. 1.



Maine and besieged Angers ; but Charles having sent troops to meet him, the duke gave up the siege of Angers, and retired to Beaufort-en-Vallée. Meanwhile the Earl of Buchan assembled his troops, and on the 17th of March, 1421, 6000 Scots, commanded by the Earl of Buchan and Sir John Stewart, marched to meet him, and passed through Orleans. "The procurators<sup>1</sup> of the city gave them a brilliant reception, and served them a plate of fish of the Loiret and claret. These troops were armed with bows, swords, and guisarms, double-edged weapons."<sup>2</sup> On the 21st of March they were in sight of the English army.

Seconded by the brave La Hire, and some other French knights, Buchan took a position before the enemy at Baugé, between La Flèche and Beaufort,<sup>3</sup> where the Duke of Clarence was entrenched. The two armies were separated by a rapid river, crossed by a narrow bridge. On the 22d the Scotch general had sent a detachment commanded by Sir John Stewart of Darneley and the Sire de Fontaines to reconnoitre : this troop, coming upon the English unawares, fell back in time to warn Buchan of the approach of the Duke of Clarence. Happily he had a short time to make ready for an advance, whilst Sir Robert Stewart of Railston and Sir Hugh Kennedy kept the bridge with a small advanced corps, over which the Duke of Clarence, with his best officers, tried to force a passage, having left the great bulk of the army to follow as best they could.<sup>4</sup> The effects of this manœuvre were, by a strange coincidence, the same as at the battle of Stirling, where Wallace defeated Surrey and Cressingham. The Duke of Clarence, conspicuous by the golden crown surmounting his helmet, and by his gorgeous armour, was first attacked vigorously by John Kirkmichael, who broke his lance on him ; then wounded in the face by Sir William Swinton ; at last brought to the ground, and killed by a blow of a mace by the Earl of Buchan. The bravest of his knights and men-at-arms fell

<sup>1</sup> Magistrates.

<sup>2</sup> D. Lottin, *Recherches sur Orléans*, vol. i., p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Berry, p. 440 ; Grafton's *Chronicle*, i. 543.

<sup>4</sup> Juvénal des Ursins, *Michaud Collection*, p. 565 ; Monstrelet, ed. Douet d'Arcq, p. 37 ; *Journal de Paris*, p. 651.

with him. The Earl of Somerset was taken prisoner by Laurence Vernor, a Scot, and his brother by Sir John Stewart of Darneley; the Earl of Huntingdon by John Sibbald, a Scotch knight; and the "Sire de Fewalt" by Henry Cunningham. The rest, furious at this disaster, rushed to the bridge to take revenge, but were killed or taken prisoners, as they arrived, by the Scots. According to Monstrelet, two or three thousand English lay dead on the spot. Bower limits the number who fell to 1617.

The honour of having killed the Duke of Clarence has been claimed by various competitors. According to Chastelain,<sup>1</sup> he was slain by Charles Le Bouteiller, a French knight. Father Anselme says that Gilbert de la Fayette killed the duke *by his own hand*. A Scotch author<sup>2</sup> claims less absolutely this honour for John Kirkmichael, chaplain of Lord Douglas, who was afterwards made Bishop of Orleans by Charles VII. in reward for his good services. "John Kirkmichael," says this author, "broke a spear on the Duke of Clarence;"<sup>3</sup> another Scotsman, Sir John Swinton de Swinton, according to an old tradition, "unhorsed the duke and wounded him in front." "The Earl of Buchan," so continues the tradition, "killed the prince with one blow of his sword;" but the merit of the victory belongs to the brave Swinton. The last Swinton de Swinton presented to Sir Walter Scott the point of the weapon with which his ancestor accomplished this deed of prowess. The lance of Swinton is still to be seen in the collection of antiquities at Abbotsford.<sup>4</sup> These claims, which seem to be mutually exclusive, tend in reality to suggest a very natural inference—that the death of the prince was not the work of one arm alone, and that there are many claimants to this honour, each of whom attributes it

<sup>1</sup> Œuvres de G. Chastelain publiées par M. le Baron K. de Lettenhove, vol. i., p. 225. Bruxelles, 1863, 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> A. Stewart, *Genealogical History of the Stewarts*, 4to, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Mayr blames the Scotch clergy of his time, and those of some dioceses of England, for their almost always carrying daggers; he excuses them, indeed, for carrying a sword and target when they ride, because they may need them for their own defence.—In IV. Sent. Dist. 15, q. 20, fol. 120c.

<sup>4</sup> Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 392; cf. Fordun à Goodall, vol. ii., pp. 461, 463.

to himself.<sup>1</sup> Bower asserts that the Scots only lost twelve men, amongst whom was, very probably, Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood.<sup>2</sup>

After the conflict, the English rallied at Beaufort-en-Vallée. The next morning at daybreak they struck their tents and retreated. The Earls of Buchan and Wigtown were in waiting to follow up the pursuit, expecting the retiring force would take the direct road and come within reach of attack on their way to cross the Loire in the vicinity of Lude. But they were at fault in their calculations, for the English took another direction, not far from the Abbey of Vaast.<sup>3</sup> There they constructed a bridge with carts, which they covered with house doors taken from plundered villages. From thence they moved to Le Mans, where they stole a march on the inhabitants by a stratagem.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the "Book of Pluscarden," the common report was that a Highland Scot, named Alexander Macausland, a native of Lennox, of the household of the Lord of Buchan, killed the said Duke of Clarence (Historians of Scotland, vol. x., p. 268).

<sup>2</sup> "Sir Robert was mortally wounded soon after the landing of the expedition in France in 1419. He made his will at Chinon, on the 7th of September, 1420, and it was ratified on the 3d April, 1421, before which he was in all probability dead. He was certainly dead before 6th May, 1421, when his son John witnessed a charter, in which he is designated 'Dominus de Calderwood' (Haddington's Collections, vol. i., p. 6). Sir Robert was buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, in the city of Angers in France, in a stately burial-place, with a raised image of his body, as directed by his will. This will is very formal, executed in the Latin language by a notary, who has fallen into several mistakes when dealing with Scotch persons and property. Sir Robert left legacies to several persons, and amongst others to his wife, his eldest son, and his eldest sister 'Lady Seer.' To his wife he bequeathed a silver basin and ewer, six silver tassies or drinking cups, besides other articles. To his eldest son he left a silver basin and a ewer, with six goblets, three silver pots, and twelve tassies; and to his sister, 'Lady Seer,' he bequeathed three silver tassies. Sir Robert was not unmindful of his dependants. He charged his heir, as he valued his blessing, to see that Allan Hamilton and his wife wanted no necessaries for the whole period of their lives; and the little Nicolas Carlen, his page, he left to his eldest son, that he might give him living and clothing, and provide him with £10 for his marriage when he arrived at manhood. He bequeathed to his cousin, John Maxwell, a coat-of-mail which he used to wear, and made many other bequests, as may be seen from the will itself" (Fraser, History of the Maxwells of Pollock, vol. i., p. 463, ed. 1863, 4to).

<sup>3</sup> Le Religieux de St Denis, p. 456.

<sup>4</sup> Le Courvaisier de Courteilles, Histoire des Evêques du Mans, p. 672; Vallet, Histoire de Charles VII., i., p. 254.

The citizens, who sided with the Dauphin, had already broken down the bridge over the Huisnes to cut off the retreat of the foe, when the English, who had procured white crosses,<sup>1</sup> which they displayed prominently, gave out that they were Scotch soldiers in the pay of the Dauphin, and requested them to repair the bridge, adding that the French knights would speedily follow. As soon as the bridge was repaired, the English crossed the river, broke down the bridge behind them, set fire to the suburbs, and massacred, without distinction of age or sex, a hundred of the poor deluded victims who had favoured their retreat. Tardily informed of their proceedings, the captains acting for the Dauphin hastened to Le Mans. But the English had retired to Normandy by way of Alençon, and were safe in their garrisons.<sup>2</sup> We shall see that the Scots did not forget the stratagem devised by the English.

At the news of the victory of Baugé, Charles went from Poitiers to Tours, where the victorious troops had arrived along with their prisoners. The month of April was passed in rejoicings to commemorate this victory. At a grand banquet the Dauphin assembled the victorious generals and the English knights whom the fortune of war had made captive.<sup>3</sup>

“The Scots had not been received by the natives without invidious criticism. Bearing enforced starvation at one time in a desolated country, and compensating it by superfluous indulgence at another, they had often been denounced to Charles, and termed wine-bags and mutton-eaters—*‘Sacs à vin, et mangeurs de mouton.’* Charles lent a patient ear to these murmurs, and made no reply to these accusations until after the battle of Baugé. Then said he to the fault-finders,

<sup>1</sup> The English standard being white with a red cross, the French adopted a white cross on a red ground. During the whole of the sixteenth century, the white cross worn on back or breast, thigh or shoulder, remained the distinguishing French badge (*cf.* Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. français, 20,360-20,362).

<sup>2</sup> Juvénal des Ursins, p. 565; Journal de Paris, ed. Buchon, pp. 299; Vallet, Histoire de Charles VII., p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Cousinot, p. 181; J. Chartier, vol. iii., p. 137.

whom he had commanded to come before him, 'What think you now of these Scots mutton-eaters and wine-bags?' The malcontents, as if they had been struck with a hammer on the head, knew not what to reply."<sup>1</sup>

With the sword of Constable,<sup>2</sup> the first military office in the kingdom, Buchan received from the Dauphin a singular present. Charles gave him an astrologer, "Master Germain de Thibouville, doctor of medicine and sovereign astrologer." This prophet is said to have immediately prognosticated the deaths of Charles VI. and Henry V.<sup>3</sup> Sir John Stewart of Darneley was invested with the Seigneurie of Concessaut in Berry.<sup>4</sup> The Earl of Wigtown received the land and Castle of Dun-sur-Auron.<sup>5</sup> To divers captains who were pointed out to him Charles distributed other benefits and rewards.<sup>6</sup> Laurence Vernor received the lands of Montreuil-Bonnin as ransom for his prisoner at Baugé, the Earl of Somerset.<sup>7</sup> We also find frequent mention of gifts of money and horses to the Scotch auxiliaries.<sup>8</sup>

The slaughter among illustrious houses in France at that time put a vast store of territories at the disposal of the Dauphin. But to the Scots they were not simply given as rewards, in many cases they were meant to defray the expenses of the war. The royal accounts prove that Charles was reduced by the pressure of adversity to great straits in his finances, and even in matters affecting the comforts of his household. Forsaken by his contractors, he had been obliged to apply to the chapter of the Cathedral of Bourges in order to obtain from the dean and canons a supply of provisions to help to maintain his depen-

<sup>1</sup> Jo. Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib., xv., c., xxxi., vol. ii., p. 458; *Historians of Scotland*, vol. x., p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> The Constable ranked next to the King himself, and all, whatever might be their title, were under his obedience.

<sup>3</sup> Simon de Phares, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, MS. français, No. 74,487.

<sup>4</sup> By letters dated April 23, Blanchard, *Compilation Chronol.*, in fol. vol. i., col. 236. Paris, 1715.

<sup>5</sup> Département du Cher.

<sup>6</sup> Catalogue Joursanvault, No. 3386.

<sup>7</sup> Teulet, *Inventaire Chronol.*, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>8</sup> Archives Nationales Reg., K.K. 53, fol. 5, 8, 71, 75, 78.

dants.<sup>1</sup> On the 24th June, 1422, Charles acknowledges that he owes the chapter 2423 livres for fresh-water fish supplied to the royal table.

It was no easy matter for Charles to keep the wolf from his door. In his "Chronicle"<sup>2</sup> the Dean of Saint Thiébault of Metz relates that a certain shoemaker was summoned by his majesty. The tradesman had booted one leg, when he was given to understand that his sovereign had no ready money to give him. Unwilling to give credit, the shoemaker pulled off the boot and left the palace. The circumstance is alluded to in a song circulated by the king's enemies :

" Quand le roy s'en vint en France,  
Il fit oindre ses houssiaux (travelling boots),  
Et la royne lui demande :  
Où vent aller ce damoiseaulx ? " <sup>3</sup>

Martial d'Auvergne, a contemporary poet, whose verses, at the close of the fifteenth century, were frequently committed to memory and sung in country neighbourhoods, also alludes to it in the following stanza : <sup>4</sup>

" Un jour que la Hire et Poton  
Le vindrent voir par festoiment,  
N'avoient qu'une queue de mouton,  
Et deux poulets tant seulement."

In the midst of his distress, Charles was often obliged to mortgage

<sup>1</sup> Chronique de J. Chartier, vol. iii, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Chronique Lorraine.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS., 10, 318, 5 ; Cangé, 222, fol. 5, V<sup>o</sup> ; Vallet, Histoire de Charles VII., vol. i., p. 423. "To appreciate the gist of the pleasantry," says Vallet de Viriville, "we should remember that in the fifteenth century boots were far more flimsy and much less costly than at the present day, and were consequently not expected to last so long. New boots would not need grease, a necessary precaution for old ones."

<sup>4</sup> Les Vigiles de Charles VII., ed. Coustelier, 12mo, t. i., p. 56. The 5th April 1423, Charles gave 200 livres to Lubin Raguier, gentleman kitchener, in consideration of the said Lubin having lent to the Bishop of Laon, superintendent of the royal finances, per ordinance of the chancellor, the sum of 1000 livres to be paid to Louis Boyaux, knight and chamberlain, for himself and certain men-at-arms, at Beauncy (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres, Dossier Raguier).



some of the valuable estates at the disposal of the Crown. When he conferred upon Sir John Stewart the city and lands of Aubigny, amongst other motives for his generosity, the Dauphin expressly stated that Sir John had almost brought himself to penury by supporting his army out of his own resources.<sup>1</sup>

In March 1421, when the Council of the Dauphin had determined to reopen the campaign, aid was again sought from Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Whilst awaiting reinforcements, Buchan, accompanied by La Fayette, La Hire, and Saintrailles, at the head of 6000 men, attempted to reopen communication between the cities in Champagne and Picardy which had remained faithful to Charles. They succeeded in recovering Montmirail, Boisruffin, Beaumont-le-Chétif, and Gallardon.

In the meantime Henry V. landed at Calais at the head of an army the largest and most formidable which had ever marched under his orders. He had forced his royal prisoner, James I. of Scotland, to accompany him. Henry probably thought that Scotch auxiliaries would be likely to leave the service of the Dauphin when commanded by their legitimate sovereign to cease hostilities. But to the summons made by James I. to lay down their arms, the Earl of Buchan simply replied, that whilst his king was prisoner and in the hands of strangers, he did not consider himself bound to obey him.<sup>3</sup> Such a reply kindled Henry's resentment to the highest degree, and from that time he affected to look upon the Scots as rebels. Melun, reduced by famine,

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Charles VII., March 22, 1422 (Archives Nationales, K. 168, No. 20) Letter of Charles VII., dated 4th August 1437 (Historical MSS., 3d Report, p. 388).

<sup>2</sup> The negotiations fell to the lot of Henry de Pluscallet, governor of La Rochelle. He advanced the money for the expenses, which amounted to 36,000 golden *écus*. As a guarantee for this loan, Charles pledged to him the fortresses of Taillebourg and Châtelaillon (Arcère, Histoire de la Rochelle, vol. ii, p. 563; Archives Nationales, J. 183, Nos. 136-141).

<sup>3</sup> Whilst in France, James resided for the most part at Rouen, which facilitated his communication with Scotland. His special chaplain, William Mireton; William Douglas of Drumlanrig, and Alexander Forbes, knights; Alexander Seton, Lord Gordon, and others, were charged with secret missions to Scotland to ascertain the exact state of party opinion in his states (The History of the Family of Gordon, vol. i., p. 49; Rymer, *Fœdera*, IV., iv., 32, 42).

having been forced to surrender, he sentenced to the gallows twenty Scotch prisoners, whose courage deserved a better fate.<sup>1</sup>

When Meaux, after seven months of siege, entered into parley, it was stipulated that all lives should be spared except those of "Wales or Scotland, if any such there be."<sup>2</sup>

After the taking of Meaux, being in want of food, Henry sent out his troops to pillage the country; but not finding anything to eat, he allowed the immunity of the Abbey of St Fiacre,<sup>3</sup> son of an ancient king of Scotland, to be violated, a thing which no one could do with impunity. The church was plundered by the soldiers, and they took all they could find in the abbey in the way of cattle and food.<sup>4</sup> At that instant, says the continuator of Fordun, he was seized with a disease commonly called "St Fiacre's evil." Feeling himself seriously ill, he consulted the doctors on the cause of his illness, and they declared that it was because he had violated the immunity of St Fiacre. "Why," said Henry, "I can't go anywhere without being bearded by Scotsmen, dead and living." He was cut off shortly after in the prime of his life; and two months after he was followed to the tomb by the crazy Charles<sup>5</sup> on the 21st October, 1422. Charles, the disinherited Dauphin, was on the 30th October proclaimed King of France at Mehun-sur-Yèvre.

On the other hand, the regency of France, according to Henry's arrangements, devolved upon his brother, the Duke of Bedford. His first care was to secure Paris, and cause Henry VI., the baby King of England, to be proclaimed there as King of France. In order to cement the union of England with Burgundy more closely together, a meeting was held at Amiens in the month of April of the year 1423.

<sup>1</sup> *Historians of Scotland*, vol. x., p. 269; Jo. Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv., cap. xxxiv., vol. ii., p. 462, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Thomæ de Elmeham, *Vita et gesta Henrici V.*, etc., cap. cxxvi., p. 327; Rymer, *Fœdera*, ed. Lond, t. x., p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> In Brie.

<sup>4</sup> Basin, vol. i., p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv., cap. xxxiv., vol. ii., p. 462; *Religieux de St Denis*, vol. vi., p. 480; *Historians of Scotland*, vol. x., p. 271.

The Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy entered into a treaty offensive and defensive.

A few insignificant skirmishes and the capture of a few unimportant fortresses, without any marked success on either side, prepared the way for a greater effort. It happened that at this time reinforcements had arrived from Scotland,<sup>1</sup> and Charles found himself sufficiently strong to make the first move. Irritated by the Treaty of Amiens, and conscious of its probable results, he resolved to attack Burgundy. In the month of July 1423, Sir John Stewart of Darnley invaded the duchy, and laid siege to the important fortress of Cravant. His army was composed chiefly of Scots. They were joined by levies furnished by Lombardy and Spain, and by large numbers of adventurous troopers. These forces had for their guide, under the general command of Darnley, the Gascon Amaury de Lévérac, a soldier of no great ability.

The intelligence surprised and alarmed the Duchess-Dowager of Burgundy. She despatched letters to her son and to the regent, urging them to hasten to the rescue of the duchy. The garrison, chiefly English, held out manfully; but they were now blockaded in the keep of the castle, and could not hold out much longer. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that they were informed of the near approach of 4000 chosen English soldiers, under the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, and the Lords Willoughby and Scales. On Saturday, the 31st of July, at sunrise, the two armies met face to face, separated only by the river Yonne. Stewart ordered his troops to line the banks of the river, which the English had to cross, and prepared to dispute the passage. Covered by archers, the English cavalry had dismounted.<sup>2</sup>

Towards mid-day the archers began to cross the river above the bridge of Cravant, some knee-deep, some up to the waist. Lord Willoughby tried to seize the bridge and to force a passage. The Scots, whom the Constable Stewart had placed in the front rank of

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, vol. i., p. xlv.

<sup>2</sup> Cousinot, ch. ccii.; Suffolk's Letter, written on the field of battle; Collection Godfrey, MS. 512, fol. 82.









Charles' army, repulsed the first onset with such intrepidity that the assailants were thrown back.<sup>1</sup> But Willoughby rallied his forces, and this time made good the passage. The besieged garrison sallied forth from the castle, and assailed their late besiegers in the rear. The troops commanded by Stewart thus saw themselves caught between two formidable attacks. Surprised and terrified, the Spaniards and Lombards fled. The Scots kept their ground, and fought with even more than their usual bravery. "But," says Vallet de Viriville, "the Maréchal de Lévérac, Robert de Leire, or Loré, as well as other captains, full of cowardice, gave the signal of retreat." The rabble of every nation whom they commanded fled with them, and, according to the herald Berry, "left the brave men to perish."<sup>2</sup> The victory was now complete, and Salisbury marched in triumph into Cravant. Sir John Stewart, after having lost an eye, was taken prisoner with Sir William Forester<sup>3</sup> and Sir Alexander Meldrum. Three thousand Scots were left upon the field;<sup>4</sup> and among the knights who fell there were, according to the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Seton, Sir William Hamilton and his son, Sir — Davidson (son), Sir Thomas Colleville, and, according to the Harleian Manuscript, Sir de Saint Johneston, Sir John Balglavy, Sir John Tournebull, Sir John Halibourton, Sir Robert Lysle, Sir Coquart Cameron, Sir William Coningham, Sir Alexander Hume, Guille Douglass Esquier, Sir William Lysle, Sir William Craford, Sir George Lysle.<sup>5</sup>

Victory was not always on the side of the English. They met with a considerable check at Mont S. Michel. Charles was also successful in Bretagne. This success inspired hopes which induced him to have again recourse to his Scottish allies. Towards May 1423

<sup>1</sup> Suffolk's Letter.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoires concernant la Pucelle*, coll. Petitot, vol. viii., p. 93; Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. i., p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> Suffolk's Letter.

<sup>4</sup> So says St Remy, who probably means men of all arms; whilst Monstrelet, who limits the number to 1200, appears to think only of the heavy-armed troops (Rev. J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, vol. i., p. xlvi.).

<sup>5</sup> Harleian MS., 782, fol. 51, a transcript of the sixteenth century. Holinshed mentions also Sir Alexander Hume and Sir John Rutherford.



the Earl of Buchan, with other noblemen, was sent to Scotland with a great number of ships. At their earnest request, Archibald, second Earl of Douglas, engaged in the service of Charles, and promised to be in France with his troops before the 6th of December, 1423.<sup>1</sup> Douglas, after passing through great perils by sea,<sup>2</sup> and other difficulties of more than one kind, at last arrived at La Rochelle at the beginning of 1424, with an army of 10,000 men-at-arms, and many other knights, barons, lords, and others, splendidly appointed.<sup>3</sup> Thence he went to join the court at Bourges, where Charles appointed him lieutenant-general of his armies, and bestowed on him the duchy of Touraine, for himself and his male heirs for ever. To this he added the town and castle of Chinon, with all its dependencies.<sup>4</sup>

When it became known at Tours that the king had bestowed the duchy of Touraine on Douglas, and that the new duke was making ready to come and take possession, an assembly was held at the town-hall to deliberate as to whether they should meet this foreigner and give him the customary presents; these were, six pipes, *i.e.* twelve barrels, of wine, six "*muids*," *i.e.* tuns, of oats, fifty sheep, four fat oxen, and one hundred pounds of wax torches. They deputed four ecclesiastics and four notables to go to Loches and compliment the duke in the name of the city; and a company of burghers on horseback was formed to go out to meet him. Having found him at a certain distance from the city, they accompanied him to the gates of Tours, where he made his entry on the 7th of May. There he was received by a deputation of the city, and by all the burghers under arms. Martin of Argouges, first deputy, addressed him on presenting him the keys, and begged

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Fontanieu, 113, 114; Trésor des Chartes, J. 680, No. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Six large ships were lost at sea. Archives Nationales, J. 183, No. 141; Stevenson, Letters, vol. ii., pt. i., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> D. Lobineau, 1707, vol. ii., col. 924; Berry, p. 370; J. Chartier, ed. Vallet, vol. iii., chap. xii.; Vallet, Histoire de Charles VII., vol. i., p. 402; The Book of Pluscarden, Historians of Scotland, vol. x., p. 270.

<sup>4</sup> Teulet, Inventaire Chronol., pp. 36, 37. The "Chambre des Comptes" was opposed at first to this alienation of crown lands, but was forced to yield to the injunction of the king (Francisque-Michel, Les Ecossais en France, vol. i., p. 140).

him to maintain the inhabitants in their privileges, franchises, and liberties. The duke promised him to do so, and the deputies had an act of his consent drawn up by three notaries brought for this purpose. The duke, having taken the keys, delivered them at once to the first deputy. He then entered into the city, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people. The streets were decked with colours and strewn with flowers. He went straight to the cathedral. At the great door were the archbishop and canons in copes. The dean presented him with a surplice, amice, and breviary, and received his allegiance. He was then installed as canon in the choir, in presence of Louis de Bourbon, Count of Vendôme, and of many other lords.<sup>1</sup>

Douglas, however, was not long permitted to enjoy his new honours. The Duke of Bedford having laid siege to the Castle of Ivry, a fortress situated in the vicinity, the Duke of Touraine and the Earl of Buchan set out from Tours, followed by the Scots. They marched towards Châteaudun, where they effected a junction with the Duke d'Alençon, the Count d'Aumale, and the Viscount de Narbonne. They all then set out towards Ivry; but they found the English army so well entrenched that they retired without daring to assail it. Douglas, to make up for this check, conceived a bold stratagem, which delivered the city of Verneuil<sup>2</sup> into his hands.

When they came near that city, they took a great number of their Scotch soldiers who spoke English. They tied their hands, and fastened them to their horses' tails, and besmeared them with blood, as if they had received wounds in their hands and faces; and thus they led them before Verneuil, crying and shouting with all their might in English that Bedford and his men had been exterminated at Ivry by the French.<sup>3</sup> Deceived by these demonstrations, the inhabitants, who belonged to the side of King Henry, opened their gates. On receipt of this news, Bedford hastened forward.

<sup>1</sup> Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecosais en France*, vol. i., p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Verneuil, in the Perche, on the small river Arve.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* (Panthéon Litt.), p. 665, col. 1.

On the 17th of August, 1424, the two armies met under the walls of Verneuil. The English reckoned amongst their number 8000 of those archers who had so often showed themselves so formidable, and had gained a European reputation. The commanders were the élite of the English captains, the Lords of Suffolk, Warwick, Salisbury, Scales, Talbot, etc.

Charles' army was, according to some authors, superior in number, being composed of at least 20,000 combatants. Frenchmen, properly so called, were in the minority. There were large numbers of Lombards and Spaniards. The main body was composed of Scots. This heterogeneous and ill-equipped army had neither unity nor discipline. Amongst other captains in command of these forces we find the names of Lords Douglas and Buchan, the Duke d'Alençon, the Counts d'Aumale, de Narbonne, La Hire, and Saintrailles.

When within a mile from Verneuil, Bedford sent a herald to the Duke of Touraine, begging him to be so good as to wait a bit, as he wanted to drink with him. To this joke the duke replied that he came expressly from Scotland for that purpose. Then both sides prepared for the fray.

Bedford, however, made no attack ; but choosing a piece of ground advantageous alike for a camp or a battlefield, and flanked by a hill, he posted thereon 2000 archers. In rear of the men-at-arms were the pages, grooms, and such horses as were unfit for service, with their collars and tails tied together. These were guarded by 2000 archers. Each of the archers had a sharply-pointed stake planted in the turf before him. Thus a stockade was formed presenting all its points to the enemy.

Douglas drew up his forces in order of battle before the walls of Verneuil. To the Constable Buchan, with his Scots, he assigned the centre. The two wings were composed of cavalry, whose duty it was to turn the enemy at a favourable moment, and break the formidable body of archers. One of the wings was confided to the Lombard cross-bowmen, fully armed and mounted ; the Baron de Coulonces, Saintrailles, and La Hire were in command of the other.

It was the intention of Douglas that the attack should be received, not given;<sup>1</sup> but Narbonne and some other French leaders resolved to force on an engagement. Douglas was long before he would suffer his men to advance; but at last, thinking it might reflect upon him if the battle was lost by only half his troops being engaged, he ordered the whole to force their way up the hill and attack the position of the English.

It was at three o'clock in the afternoon that the battle began. "The English," says Monstrelet, "as usual set up a great shout as they advanced," and this hearty English cheer "alarmed the French much." The Lombard cross-bowmen attacked the English on the flank, and, whilst the Scottish columns in the centre came to close quarters with the enemy, they swept round on Bedford's rear. But the archers who defended that side prevented them from disorganising the square. The Lombards, however, whose aim was plunder, killed the pages, cut off the horses, and loaded them with the booty. But being pitilessly galled by the archers, they took to flight in the direction of Chartres.<sup>2</sup> Dissension among the chiefs proved the weakness of the other wing, composed of French cavalry. The Baron de Coulonces refused to give precedence to the Duke d'Alençon, a prince of the blood. He preferred to withdraw from the field of battle with his troops, and took up a position on a hill as a witness of the fight.<sup>3</sup> The rest, led on by La Hire and Saintrailles, broke down the English square, cutting completely through it, and caused great slaughter. Arrived at the other side, and believing that the English were completely routed, they began to pursue the fugitives. Their departure deprived of valuable assistance their Scotch allies, who thus saw themselves thrown upon their own strength and resources, and deprived of the support which they expected.

During three-quarters of an hour the battle remained undecided, neither party gaining ground. For an instant the banner of St George

<sup>1</sup> Hume of Godscroft, *History of the House of Douglas*, ed. 1644 in 4to, pp. 128, 129; Daniel, *Histoire de France*, vol. 7, p. 18 (Paris, 1755).

<sup>2</sup> *Journal de Paris*, pp. 666, 667.

<sup>3</sup> Berry, p. 372; *Chronique de Normandie*, fol. 180, vº.

was trampled under foot. The English wavered, and victory seemed to lean towards their adversaries. But soon the standard was recovered, and order and coolness restored amongst the soldiers. On all sides the Scots engaged in the struggle displayed admirable courage, and fought to the last gasp.<sup>1</sup> Most of the French captains deserved the same praise. At length the English were victorious. Blood was flowing in streams. More than 9000 men, say the heralds, fell on the side of Charles VII. Nearly all belonged to the Scotch nation.<sup>2</sup> The victory cost the English about 4000 men.

"It was a frightful spectacle to behold the hills of slain heaped up on the field of battle, especially where the strife had been with the Scots, for not one of them received quarter. The cause of this implacable slaughter without mercy was the pride of the Scots. Before the engagement, the Duke of Bedford having sent to know what were the conditions of the combat, they replied that 'they would not on that day either give quarter to the English nor receive it from them.' This reply kindled the fury of the enemy against them, and caused their extermination."<sup>3</sup> "The French captains," says another contemporary writer, "rejoiced at their defeat."<sup>4</sup> Most of the leaders fell.<sup>5</sup>

Thus perished, covered with wounds, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, with his kinsman the great Earl of Douglas, and James his son. Their bodies, bought from the English, were carried to Tours, and buried in the middle of the choir of the Cathedral Church of St Gratien on the

<sup>1</sup> Vallet, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. i., p. 418; *Historians of Scotland*, Book of Pluscarden, vol. x., pp. 271, 272.

<sup>2</sup> Vallet, vol. i., p. 418; Account of Montjoy, king-at-arms; Harleian MS., 782, fol. 516; Delort, *Essai sur Charles VII.*, p. 247 (Paris, 1824, 8vo).

<sup>3</sup> De calamitate Galliæ scriptor anonymus, ap. Jacob. Meyer, *Annales . . . rerum Belgicarum*. *Francofurti ad mænum*, MDLXXX., in folio, Liv. xv., vol. i., p. 306. The same writer questions whether the defeat of the Scots was not to be considered as a piece of good fortune to France in breaking the power of a set of masters likely to be more formidable even than the English.

<sup>4</sup> Bazin, *Histoire des Règnes de Charles VII.*, vol. i., p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal de Paris*, *l. c.*

24th of August, in the same grave, without pomp or ceremony. Charles, however, in consideration of the services rendered by these lords, caused their servants to be paid all that was due to them for wages, as also those who had furnished them with food.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Scotch knights who fell, the contemporary chronicles enumerate "Sir Walter de Bekirtoune, Sir Willame de Setoune (*fil unique du Comte de Wintoun*),<sup>2</sup> Sir Richert de Bekirtoune, Sir Henry Bekirtoune (*gouverneur des archers écossais*), and Alexander Bekirtoune;"<sup>3</sup> Sir Alexander Meldryn, Sir Henry Balglave, Sir John Sterlyng, Sir William Homeldon, Sir Robert Kaneday,<sup>4</sup> Sir James Graie, Sir Robert Randen, and Sir John Haliburton; and, according to an old contemporary chronicle—"Comes de Marre, Comes de Murrey, Alexander Lyndesey, miles; Willelmus Douglas de Danlanryk (*Drumlanrig*), Matheus Pork, Hugo Orth, milites."<sup>5</sup>

A few years later, a Frenchman who had fought at Verneuil, and subsequently became a hermit, paid a visit to the field of battle. He caused it to be blessed, erected a chapel, and, for the honour of the cause he had defended, piously collected the bones of the victims. In 1426 the states of Dauphiné founded a perpetual service in memory of the event in the celebrated abbey of St Antoine de Viennois. This daily service was called "The Mass of Verneuil."<sup>6</sup>

No more troops could be raised in the terror-stricken provinces of France. Scotland had made a last generous effort, and it had failed. But notwithstanding the almost hopeless state of the royal cause, Sir

<sup>1</sup> Chalmel, *Histoire de Touraine*, liv. viii., vol. ii., p. 194; Archives of Tours, Cabinet Historique, 1859, catal., pp. 105, 106, No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 642, col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> An Addicioun of Scottis Croniklis and Deidis, p. 23, edited by Th. Thomson, 1819, in 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Harleian MS., 782.

<sup>5</sup> Three fifteenth century Chronicles, p. 164 (Camden Society, 1880); Genealogical Memoirs of the Family of Sir W. Scott, . . . with a reprint of his Memorials of the Haliburtons, by the Rev. Charles Rogers, p. 17 (Lond., 1877, in 8vo).

<sup>6</sup> Chorier, *Histoire du Dauphiné*, vol. ii., p. 422.

John Stewart of Darneley and his brother Sir William Stewart remained unshaken in their attachment to the interests of France; of which Charles and his Council were so sensible, that additional favours were granted to the Constable of the Scottish army. The county of Evreux was conferred upon him as a reward for his devotion, as well as a compensation for the expenses he had incurred in supporting his troops out of his own resources.<sup>1</sup>

Grateful for the services done to France by the Scots at the cost of immense sacrifices, Charles behaved to the survivors of Cravant and Verneuil as if they had been his own subjects. According to several historians, it was after the battle of Verneuil that he committed to them in a special manner the guard of his royal person, with singular prerogatives.

The royal accounts seem to assign the same date to the glorious origin of the Scots Guard. In 1425 we find in the "Registres de la chambre des Comptes" the first mention of a Scotch company of "men-at-arms and archers *ordonnez à la garde du corps du roy* under the command of Christin Chambre, Esquire of Scotland, . . . by letters of the 8th July, 1425."<sup>2</sup> In all probability to that date should be referred the foundation of the Scotch body-guard, definitely organised in 1445; but ever since 1425 the kings of France were guarded by Scotchmen, who for nearly 300 years served France with unswerving fidelity.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Charles VII., 26th January 1426; Tr. des Ch., J. 216, No. 20. There is in the same archives a deed, by which Sir John Stewart declares, that "whensoever his majesty Charles VII. or his successors should pay to him or to his heirs the sum of 50,000 *écus d'or*, he or his heirs should be obliged to renounce to his majesty the said county of Evreux."

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres MS., 684; Extrait des Comptes de Marc Héron, trésorier des guerres. From the 1st of December 1422 to the 1st of January, Christin Chambre commanded a Scotch company, but the Books of Accounts do not allude to it as "*ordonnée à la garde du corps du roy*;" whereas from 1425 to 1447, Christin Chambre is always styled "Captain of the Archers of the King's Life-guard." Christin Chambre became the founder of a noble Scotch house in the south of France (Bibliothèque Nationale, Titres originaux—Chambre).











After Verneuil, the crown of France was within Bedford's reach : he had but to put forth his hand and grasp it. Yet France was saved ; saved, too, by Bedford's own brother, Humphry, Duke of Gloucester.

Humphry injured and insulted the Duke of Burgundy, and thus weakened the alliance upon the stability of which the success of the English arms chiefly depended. Shortly after he quarrelled with his uncle, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester. Things assumed such an alarming aspect, that in the opinion of the Cardinal, a civil war was imminent, and he entreated the Duke of Bedford to return home. The duke appointed the Earl of Warwick to conduct the war in France, and sailed for England. He was detained there for sixteen months, and that period was a respite for France.

Little, however, was done by Charles during his absence, and, when Bedford returned to France in April 1427, he found matters nearly as he had left them. Nevertheless he had not been idle. He brought back with him a large body of troops,<sup>1</sup> which enabled Warwick, Suffolk, and Sir John Pole to lay siege to Montargis.

Charles lost no time in relieving the besieged. French troops were sent under the command of La Hire and the Bastard of Orleans. The Scots were commanded by Sir John Stewart.<sup>2</sup> Sir Hugh Kennedy, with 3000 or 4000 foot soldiers, contributed to raise the siege.<sup>3</sup> The English were taken by surprise, and thrown into such confusion, that, according to Holinshed, 1600 men were slain or drowned in the river.<sup>4</sup> Provisions, a valuable supply of artillery, ammunition, and expensive booty left by the English, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Charles, however, harassed on all sides by Bedford, and perceiving

<sup>1</sup> Monstrelet estimates them at 10,000 men-at-arms.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Gaignières, No. 772, fol. 549, v<sup>o</sup>; MS., 20,684, fol. 546, f.f.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MS., 20,684, fol. 546, Accounts from 1424 to September 1433 ; Mémoires concernant la Pucelle, coll. Petitot, vol. viii, p. 216 ; J. Chartier, vol. iii. ; Chronique de J. Raoulet, p. 193. Cf. Archives de Tours, Cabinet Historique, 1859, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Holinshed, L. 1577, vol. ii., p. 1237. St Remi (p. 484) says that the slain amounted to 7000 men.

that the moment had arrived when the decisive blow might be struck, towards the end of April 1628 sent Sir John Stewart along with the Archbishop of Rheims to James I., King of Scotland, to seek new support, and to demand the hand of the Princess Margaret, his eldest daughter, in marriage for the Dauphin.<sup>1</sup> King James, on the 10th of November, 1428, bound himself by a new treaty to furnish his ally with 6000 men-at-arms, and promised to put his daughter on board the first ship sent to him by the King of France in the following spring.

<sup>1</sup> Archives Nationales, J. 183, No. 12 ; A. Stuart, *History of the Stewarts*, pp. 141-145 ; *Cabinet Historique*, 1859, Nos. 4831, 4833 ; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Traitez*, p. 238. On the 24th of October 1427, Sir John Stewart received 500 livres for the expenses of his journey to Scotland (D. Morice, *Mémoires*, vol. ii., col. 1205). *Cf.* Bibliothèque Nationale, *Pièces originales*, No. 994.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE SCOTCH KNIGHTS AND JOAN OF ARC.

THE point we have now reached marks the close of the disastrous period that overshadowed the commencement of the reign of Charles VII. Never was France exposed to more imminent peril. In 1428, to the north of the Loire only three places, situated at the extreme points of a triangle, had remained faithful to the King of France—Tournay in the north, Mont Saint Michel in the west, and Vaucouleurs in the east. At this juncture the differences that had arisen between the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Gloucester had died out, and the Duke of Bedford was freed from the embarrassments that had hitherto paralysed his operations. Aware that Charles had concentrated his forces in the city of Orleans, ready to dispute the passage of the Loire, Bedford resolved to annihilate his army, and to wrest from him even the title of King of Bourges that had so often given employment to mocking tongues. At Orleans he must strike the decisive blow. Accordingly Salisbury received orders to march with the flower of the English army against this devoted city. The Scots were to take a glorious share in its defence.<sup>1</sup>

Happier than most of the Scots who took part in the battle of Verneuil, John Kirkmichael escaped from the slaughter. At the death of Guy de Prunelay, Bishop of Orleans, Charles, in recognition of the great services rendered by the Scots to France, appointed him to the vacant see. During the siege of the town he gave great assist-

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Hay was appointed to protect Bourges, where the king presided (Bibliothèque Nationale MS., 20, 684, fol. 546).

ance to Joan of Arc,<sup>1</sup> and in all probability drew thither many of his countrymen, and encouraged them in the defence of his episcopal city. Before its investment, says Holinshed, "the Bishop of the citie and a great number of Scottes, hearing of the Earl's (Salisbury) intent, made divers fortifications about the town and destroyed the suburbs, in which were twelve parish churches and four orders of friars."<sup>2</sup> From the beginning of the siege, Sir John Stewart, who had returned from Scotland with reinforcements,<sup>3</sup> Sir John Wishart, Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, Sir William Douglas de Kyrros, and David Malleville were amongst the most courageous defenders of Orleans.<sup>4</sup> On the 21st of October, 1428, the two Douglasses, who were brothers, both inexplicably bearing the name of William, were killed in repelling an assault made by the English. Their bodies were honourably buried in front of the high altar in the Church of Sainte Croix.<sup>5</sup>

Two days after this, Sir Hugh de Kennedy, the same who had distinguished himself at Montargis, forced his entry into Orleans with Scotch troops under his command,<sup>6</sup> and Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Angus succeeded in bringing provisions sent by Charles to the besieged;<sup>7</sup> and, when "on the 8th of February the guards on the watch-tower gave warning that a large body of men were making towards the city, it proved to be a reinforcement and a convoy of provisions, led by many right valiant warriors well equipped, and amongst them *Messire Guillaume Estuart*, brother of the Constable of Scotland, . . . and many more knights and squires, accompanied by a thousand fighting

<sup>1</sup> Symphorien Guyon, *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Orléans*, p. 181. Orléans, 1650, in fol.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed ed., L., 1577, vol. ii., p. 1239; Vergnaud-Romagnesi, *Siège d'Orléans en 1429*, p. 8 (Paris, 1861, in 8vo).

<sup>3</sup> "Avec quatre cens hommes fort vaillans:" . . . Symphorien Guyon, *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Orléans*, *l. c.*

<sup>4</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MS., 7858, fol. 41.

<sup>5</sup> For the decoration of this altar they had bestowed a gift of forty gold *écus* and ten yards of crimson cloth (*Annales Ecclesiæ Aurelianensis auctore Sausseyo Carolo*, p. 586, P. MDCXV., in fol.).

<sup>6</sup> Mantellier, *Histoire du Siège d'Orléans*, p. 29. Orléans, 1867, in 12mo.

<sup>7</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MS., fond. français, No. 7858.



men, so well equipped for war that it was a pleasure to look on them."<sup>1</sup> About the same time arrived Charles de Bourbon, Count de Clermont, with a band of Auvernian knights. These auxiliaries sent by Charles were to attack the English besiegers in the rear, and liberate the city. At this moment the French learnt that a convoy of herrings and other lenten provisions was being sent from Paris along with reinforcements to the besiegers. This convoy was protected by about 2000 men under the command of Sir John Falstaff. "The Bastard of Orleans and Sir John Stewart at once left Orleans with about 1000 men to meet the Count de Clermont, and to consult with him as to attacking the convoy (10th February, 1429)."<sup>2</sup> It was decided that on the morrow, about 1500 men, under the command of Sir William Stewart, brother of the Constable of Scotland, Sir Hugh Kennedy, and other knights, should leave Orleans and advance to meet Falstaff.<sup>3</sup>

Next morning, as it had been agreed, Sir William Stewart's detachment arrived at Rouvray St Denis, and almost at the same moment the army of the Count of Clermont was seen to the west, and the convoy entering by the Étampes Road. This convoy consisted of a long line of waggons heavily laden with herrings, guarded by about 1500 men. Nothing seemed easier than by a cross movement to cut through the line before it could be drawn up. Sir William Stewart and Sir Hugh Kennedy were for attacking it at once; but out of deference, they sent for orders to the Count of Clermont, who was of the blood royal. He was a very young man, and had never before been in command; in fact, he had only received his spurs that morning. Whether there was some misunderstanding, or through the incapacity of those around him, he commanded the men to wait. Falstaff saw

<sup>1</sup> Journal du Siège, ed. Quicherat; Procès de Jeanne d'Arc, vol. iv., p. 117, P. 1847, in 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121. "11 février—Quinze cents combattants sortent d'Orléans *par la Porte Paris*." Mantellier, Histoire du Siège d'Orléans, p. 29; Quicherat, Procès de Jeanne d'Arc, vol. iv., p. 121.

the situation at a glance. Being an able tactician, he grouped the waggons, gave orders to plant pointed stakes in the ground, and drew up his men behind them.<sup>1</sup>

"The Constable of Scotland bore this delay impatiently, for he had come upon the ground with 400 men, amongst whom were many very brave soldiers. When he saw the English drawn up and awaiting the attack, . . . in spite of the orders given that no one should move, he marched to the fray without waiting for the rest. The Bastard of Orleans, Sir William Stewart," Sir Hugh Kennedy, "and many other knights and squires followed his example—in all, about 400 combatants, exclusive of the archers, who had already dismounted and attacked the English right valiantly, but all to no avail. For when the English saw that the main body was at a great distance, and only advanced timidly, and did not join the rest, they suddenly sallied out from their cover, and attacked the French on foot, put them in disorder, and drove them to flight."<sup>2</sup>

If at this moment they had been reinforced, the men of Orleans would have been able to reform and seize the advantage; but the Count de Claremont, "piqued because his orders had been disobeyed, went off in the direction of Orleans. This was not only an ill-becoming act, but it was also a shameful one."<sup>3</sup> The Scots and a great many of the men of Orleans were cut to pieces. John and William Stewart remained dead on the field of battle, one brother having sacrificed his life in endeavouring to rescue the other when wounded and overpowered by the enemy's troops.<sup>4</sup> They were buried in the cathedral church of Orleans in the chapel of Notre Dame Blanche, behind the choir. John Stewart, foreseeing that in the chances of war he might meet his death, had made his will, and had left money for a mass to be said in the above-mentioned chapel every day at the end of matins.<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Lindsay, widow of Sir John Stewart of Darneley, followed

<sup>1</sup> Mantellier, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Quicherat, *Journal du Siège*, vol. iv., p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> A. Stewart, *History of the Stewarts*, p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> Guyon, *Histoire d l'Eglise . . . d'Orléans*, etc., seconde partie, p. 270.

him to the grave at the end of November 1429. She had accompanied her husband from the beginning of the siege. Eight torches given by the city were borne at her funeral.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever may have been the losses of the Scots at Rouvray Saint-Denis, authentic documents prove that a large number survived the defeat. In a distribution of wine and food which took place at the end of March, we find that "560 Scots received three and a half barrels of wine, and three meads of corn."<sup>2</sup>

Six days after the battle of Rouvray, Sir Patrick Ogilvy and Sir John Wishart with his men made a sortie from Orleans in search of food and other necessaries.<sup>3</sup> With them, and under their protection, went Bishop Carmichael, who had determined to make a last effort in order to rouse Charles from his indolence, and decide him to act vigorously in defence of his devoted city of Orleans.<sup>4</sup>

On receiving the news of the unfortunate battle of Rouvray, Charles was on the eve of quitting a country which, day by day, was falling from his grasp. One morning, when indulging in these sad thoughts, he entered his oratory, "and there," says a contemporary writer, "he made a humble request and prayer to our Lord within his heart, without using a word, and begged that, if he really were the rightful heir and descendant of the noble House of France, and if the kingdom were his by right, He would be pleased to guard and defend him, or at the worst permit him to escape without death or imprisonment, and to fly to Spain, or to the land of the Scots, who had, from time immemorial, been brothers in arms and allies of the kings of France."<sup>5</sup>

Orleans was indeed reduced to the last extremity, and could no

<sup>1</sup> Mantellier, *Histoire du Siège d'Orléans*, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Romagnesi, *Siège d'Orléans*, p. 9. In another document we read: "à Jehan Mahy pour donner à trois Ecossois qui estoient blessés, pour leur aider à vivre" (MSS. Dubois, Orleans Library). Cf. D. Lottin, *Annales*, vol i., p. 194, *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, 7858, fol. 50 v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Procès*, vol. iv., p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Sala, . . . *Procès de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. iv., p. 280, and vol. v., p. 340.

longer hold out. A victorious army was on the road to attack it; there were no men, and there was no money to levy fresh troops. In the midst of these perplexities, all at once the aspect of affairs was changed by an event, the most extraordinary which has occurred in modern history. To quote the words of Hume: "One of the most singular revolutions"<sup>1</sup> which has confounded the vain projects of man was effected by a young country girl of Lorraine, who arrived at Chinon, where the King was on the 6th of March.<sup>2</sup>

It is said that on the day of the battle of Rouvray, Joan went to Robert of Baudricourt, Captain of Vaucouleurs, and said to him: "In the name of God, do not tarry, but send me to the Dauphin; for to-day the noble Dauphin has suffered a great defeat near Orleans, and he is in danger of a greater, if you send me not to him." He yielded, and on the morrow placed a small escort at her disposal.

After surmounting many difficulties, Joan saw Charles, and told him that God had sent her to help and succour him. She demanded "that he should give her men," and she promised to deliver Orleans. After much hesitation, Charles accepted her services. Joan at once started for Tours, where by order of Charles VII. a full coat of armour was made for her. James Power, a Scot, painted for her two banners or standards.<sup>3</sup>

There was no time to be lost if Orleans was to be saved. The city was shut in by thirteen fortifications in all. Thus great distress prevailed, as the garrison could not receive supplies by water or by

<sup>1</sup> Hume, History of England, vol. iii., p. 141. Edinburgh, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Procès, vol. iv., p. 313. "Never," says the learned Walkenaër, "did history rely on a foundation so authentic as that of Joan of Arc. In the two trials, judicial facts were elicited, and the depositions of 200 witnesses of both sexes, of all ages and all professions, were taken" (Biographie Universelle, Jeanne d'Arc).

<sup>3</sup> This painter had a daughter already grown up, named Heliote, who was married in 1430. Joan took her under her protection. Being then at court, she wrote to the municipality of Tours, asking them to endow Heliote with a sum of 100 *écus*. The city, on account of *extreme poverty*, did not do this; but it provided the marriage feast, and the magistrate presided officially "pour l'amour et l'honneur de la pucelle" (Procès, vol. 5, p. 154; Bibliothèque, . . . Ecole des Chartes, vol. iv., p. 488).











land. When Charles consulted with his captains as to how provisions might be conveyed into Orleans, one and all declared that no convoy could pass the English fortifications. Joan, however, insisted on bringing a great convoy of provisions, and said: "We will take food into Orleans with ease, and not an Englishman will attempt to hinder us." And according to her promise a large convoy of provisions, protected by Scotch troops<sup>1</sup> under the command of Sir Patrick O'Gilvy, Constable of the Scotch army, Sir John Wishart, Nicholas Giresme, a brave Scotch knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> Michael Norvil, John Criston, Governour of Châtillon, and other French knights, passed unchallenged the fortifications which were supposed to form an impenetrable barrier, and reached Orleans on the 29th of April. Joan entered the city armed *cap-à-pie*, and a few days after held a council with the Bastard of Orleans and a Scotch captain named Kennedy.<sup>3</sup>

Joan hastened to take one after another the fortresses raised by the English, and this great siege which had lasted seven months was terminated by her in one week.

This wonderful achievement filled the Duke of Bedford with grief, which he expresses in a curious manner in a letter to the King of England, Henry VI. :

"And alle things there prospered for you, til the tyme of the Siege of Orleans taken in hand, God knoweth by what Advis,

"At the whiche Tyme, after the Adventure fallen to the Persone of my *Cousin of Salysbury*, whom God assoille, there felle, by the Hand of God as it seemeth, a great strook upon your Peuple that was assembled there in grete Nombre, caused in grete partie, as I trowe, of lakke of sadde Beleve, and of unlevefulle doubte that thei hadde of a Disciple and Lyme of the Feende, called the *Pucelle*, that used fals Enchauntements and Sorcerie,

"The whiche Strooke and Discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete partie the Nombre of youre Peuple there, but as well withdrowe the Courage of the Remenant in merveillous

<sup>1</sup> At least 100 men-at-arms and 400 archers (Bibliothèque Nationale MS., fond. français, 7858, fol. 50 v°.).

<sup>2</sup> *Procès*, vol. iv., p. 161. "This name," says M. Francisque-Michel, "is certainly not Scotch, but probably it was adopted by one of that nation from estates granted to him by the crown" (Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, vol. i., p. 173).

<sup>3</sup> *Procès*, vol. iv., p. 5.

wyse, and Couraiged youre Adverse Partie and Ennemys to assemble hem forthwith in grete Nombre," etc.<sup>1</sup>

On the 8th of May the English began to retreat.

Led by Joan of Arc and their Bishop, John Kirkmichael, the inhabitants of Orleans went from church to church to return thanks to Him who had given them victory. Such was the origin of a procession which was afterwards established as an annual solemnity on the 8th of May by John Kirkmichael, and which has been continued age after age in honour of the Maid of Orleans—a perpetual recognition of veneration by France to her, who in a moment of peril saved her country from downfall.<sup>2</sup>

After the deliverance of Orleans, Joan wished to march with the king to Rheims, and after his coronation to lead him on to free the whole kingdom of his enemies. But this seemed too daring an undertaking to Charles' counsellors, who, owing to cowardice perhaps or to carelessness, resolved to seize every pretext to put it off as long as possible. Joan betook herself to Chinon, and urged the King to go to Rheims. But could he go to Rheims and leave behind him the English on the Loire, at Beaugency, at Meun, and at Jargeau? Joan promised to take these positions. With the aid of the captains just returned from Orleans a small army was assembled and placed under the command of the Duke of Alençon. The Scotch auxiliaries aided Joan in taking Jargeau, where she was wounded, and twenty of them were killed at the battle of Patay, where more than 2000 English remained on the field.<sup>3</sup>

On receiving the news of this victory, Charles yielded at last to the earnest entreaties of Joan, and promised to undertake the journey to Rheims. But even after this promise he hesitated again. It was

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv., pt. iv., p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Wallon, *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 32, 96 (Paris, 1876, in 4to); *Chronique du Siège d'Orléans et de l'établissement de la fête du 8 mai 1429*; Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes.

<sup>3</sup> *Procès*, vol. iv., p. 479; J. Chartier, *Chronique*, vol. i., p. 83; Wavrin, *Anchiennes Chroniques*, edited by Dupont, vol. i., p. 292.

necessary to pass over 180 miles of territory occupied by the English; money was wanting for the transport of artillery and munitions; they had none even for the provisions of their troops. The city of Rheims itself was in the hands of the Burgundians. So many obstacles tended to discourage Charles from an enterprise, which, should it fail, would annihilate his army. To cut off further hesitations, Joan started without the king on the 27th of June, and Charles followed her two days after. Thanks to her energy and courage, many cities opened their gates willingly, or were forced to capitulate. The Burgundians evacuated Rheims at the approach of the royal army, and on the 17th of July Charles was crowned. The names of the Scotch lords and captains who accompanied Charles and attended his coronation, although much altered, have been preserved. They were—John Kirkmichael, Bishop of Orleans and Peer of France,<sup>1</sup> one of the consecrating prelates, Sir Patrick O'Gilvy, *Vicomte d'Angus*, Sir Christin de la Chambre, with the archers of the Royal Guard,<sup>2</sup> Sir Gilbert de la Haye, Sir Jehan Oulchart, Sir Wastre Lecque, Sir Pierre de Giresme, all knights; Jehan Quot, Jehan de Lorze, Pierre de Lore, Pierre Arnaut, Robert Houston, Michel Norville, Gauthier Fautier, Gilbert de la Haye, Kanedy.<sup>3</sup>

After four days spent at Rheims, Charles marched to Soissons. But upon the possession of the capital depended the tenure of the realm of France.<sup>4</sup> It was only by the most urgent entreaties that

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MSS., 7858, fol. 39, v°.

Dr Rawlinson transcribed the following inscription from a window in St Theodore's church at Basle :

" Rev. pater *Joannes* episcopus  
Aurelianensis, natione Scotus, Christianissimi  
principis domini Karoli Septimi Francorum  
Regis ambassiator."

—*Notes and Queries*, 3d S., ix. p. 274.

According to other authors J. Kirkmichael died at Orleans in October 1429 (Beauvais de Préau, *Essai historique sur Orléans*).

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MSS., 20,684.

<sup>3</sup> MS. fond français, Sorbonne, No. 1105, fol. 33. Published by Delort, in his "*Essai critique sur Charles VII.*," p. 174 (Paris, 1824, in 8vo).

<sup>4</sup> Bedford's despatch. J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, vol. i., p. xxxvi.

Joan could persuade the king to march on Paris. Bedford left the city with a numerous army, and sent a challenge to Charles. On the 15th of August, Charles met the English army at Montepilloy, near Senlis, and attacked them bravely. "By the side of King Charles," says Monstrelet, "were a great number of Scots, who fought hard and fiercely."<sup>1</sup> According to French chroniclers, Charles won the day, but without any great result.

Beauvais, Senlis, Compiègne, and many other towns submitted, and the Duke of Burgundy promised to deliver up Paris. Charles foolishly relying on such a promise gave up his march on the capital. Paris, being left to fight for itself, had recourse to a plot which was concocted between some of the inhabitants and Frenchmen outside the walls.

At secret meetings divers propositions were made, and "it was found more expedient that four score or a hundred Scots, dressed like Englishmen, carrying the red cross, should come by little bands or companies the direct road from Saint Denis into the city, and bringing some salt fish or cattle should enter secretly by the gate, and afterwards should do what was necessary in order to obtain the mastery of the porters; and then another party of the Dauphin's men, who should be in ambush near that place, should come in force to enter within the city and have the mastery thereof."<sup>2</sup>

A certain John of Calais betrayed his fellow-plotters to the English police. On the day agreed upon, the assailants took up their post without the gates, and the military movement was attempted; but the Duke of Clarence laid hands on those within who were to incite the citizens to insurrection.

Charles had retreated into Touraine, and his army, which could

<sup>1</sup> "Et y estoient du costé du roy Charles, grand parti d'Escochoix, qui tres-fort et asprement combatirent" (Monstrelet, Bibliothèque Nationale MS., français, 8346, l. lxvi.). See Quicherat, *Procès*, vol. iv., p. 388 and p. 361. In the text, edited by Buchon, the word "François" is substituted for "Escochoix" (Scots)—(Buchon, *Chroniques*, vol. xxx., p. 247). Cf. Fordun à Goodall, *Scotichronicon*, vol. ii., pp. 501, 502.

<sup>2</sup> Archives Nationales, Reg. J.J., 174; Stevenson, *Henry VI.*, vol. i., p. 34.

have been so well employed elsewhere, was on the eve of dissolution. The Duke d'Alençon returned to his estates of Beaumont, and many French captains followed his example. Unwilling to remain a witness of the king's futile efforts to recover his crown, Joan determined to join those who were willing to fight. One day, therefore, without wishing adieu to the king, she set out, pretending to be going "to some sport," and on the 16th of April, 1430, arrived at Lagny-sur-Marne. "There she knew to be men who made good war against the English."<sup>1</sup> They were Scotch troops commanded by Sir Hugh Kennedy, who had already fought by her side at Orleans and Patay.<sup>2</sup> After defeating a body of English troops, in August 1429, he had occupied Lagny, and made it a stronghold. The English, to the number of 300 or 400, were devastating the country all around. They were on their return with their booty, when Joan received information of their whereabouts. Taking a body of cavalry about equal in number, she set out and cut them off. The English dismounted, and took up position behind a hedge, but Joan and her troop assailed them on foot and on horseback, and cut them to pieces.<sup>3</sup> A few days after this Joan was taken prisoner before Compiègne, and transferred to Arras.

At Arras a Scotchman showed her a portrait of herself, which he bore on his person—a symbol of the veneration which her faithful companions had vowed to her.<sup>4</sup> A Scotchman, perhaps the same, followed the Maid of Orleans during the whole of her wonderful career. After being present at her death, he returned to his native

<sup>1</sup> Procès, vol. iv., p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Hugh Kennedy commanded at least 800 men. Archives of Tours, Cabinet Historique, 1859, p. 112; Procès, vol. v., p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> J. Chartier, Chronique, vol. i., pp. 40, 41, 52, 117-120, 143, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Procès, vol. i., pp. 100-292. "Who had painted this portrait?" asks M. Francisque-Michel. "If it is impossible to state with certainty, it is not forbidden to form a conjecture," and to "suppose that Hames Poulvoir (Polwart) who painted her standards, and whose daughter was beloved by Joan, may also have painted" the portrait "seen at Arras in the hands of a Scotchman" (Les Ecossais en France, vol. i., p. 175).

country, and became a monk in the Abbey of Dunfermline. At the request of his abbot, he continued Fordun's "Scotichronicon," and in it bore witness to the "marvellous Maid who brought about the recovery of the kingdom of France, . . . whom I saw and knew, and in whose company I was present, during her endeavours for the said recovery, up to her life's end."<sup>1</sup>

By putting to death Joan of Arc, the Duke of Bedford terminated the English ascendancy in France. John Theissart, notary of King Henry VI., as he returned from the place of her execution, declared, "We are all lost men, for a saintly woman has perished."<sup>2</sup> From that day the nationality of France revived.

<sup>1</sup> The Historians of Scotland, vol. x., p. 3 (Edinburgh, 1880, 10 vols. in 8vo); Quicherat, *Procès de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. v., p. 340, vol. iv., p. 484.

<sup>2</sup> Vallet, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. ii., p. 234.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE REDUCTION OF FRANCE—FINAL ORGANISATION OF THE SCOTCH MEN-AT-ARMS AND LIFEGUARDS.

THE fight at Lagny had been the last exploit of the Maid of Orleans. From this stronghold, situated on a navigable river between Paris and Melun, Kennedy commanded one of the principal entrances to Paris. It was therefore a source of great annoyance to the English, so much so that the Duke of Bedford found it necessary again to besiege it on the 1st of May, 1432; but during four months Kennedy defied the efforts of the assailants. The besieged were being reduced by famine when Charles VII. sent to their aid some Scotch troops, commanded by "Messire Wastre Lekke" and Sir John Wishart,<sup>1</sup> and other French forces. A decisive action was fought in a meadow near Lagny on the 10th of August, 1432. The French and Scots gained the day, and the Duke of Bedford immediately raised the siege. His artillery and ammunition, victuals and military stores, fell into the hands of the French, and on the 20th of August, Bedford returned to Paris deeply mortified by the disaster he had sustained.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after this, he was deserted by the Duke of Burgundy, who entered into negotiations with France; and, while the ambassadors of France were discussing the details of the treaty of Arras, intelligence reached them of Bedford's death.<sup>3</sup> The treaty was signed on the 20th of September, and the Duke of Burgundy prepared to strike a heavy blow at the English

<sup>1</sup> Archives Nationales, J., 183, No. 142; Bibliothèque Nationale MSS., fond français, 20,684; Bazin, *Histoire des Règnes de Charles VII.*, vol. i., p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Vallet, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. ii., p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> He died on the 14th of September, 1435.

power in France by besieging Calais. So entirely did the attention of England become engrossed in the defence of Calais and the raid into Flanders, that the interests of France and Normandy were forgotten.

In the meantime the partisans of Charles VII. in Paris had attempted a daring enterprise, which as usual was to have been carried out through the Scots. The plot was to admit into the city about 200 men. A certain number were to bear the red cross on their armour; the rest, marked with the white cross, with arms concealed and their hands lightly tied, were to pretend to be the prisoners of the others. They were to arrive at the gates of St Denis and St Antoine about midday when the guards were at dinner. Meanwhile 3000 or 4000 armed men were to lie in ambush on the outskirts. Having entered, they were to slay the guards and all whom they should meet, to seize arms, make themselves masters of the two gates, and then massacre the English. But this plot was discovered, and the authors punished with death or exile.<sup>1</sup>

Richemont, Constable of France, aware that a great many of the inhabitants, chafing under a foreign yoke, were eager to be emancipated, directed his march to Paris. La Hire and Sir Hugh Kennedy took St Denys by surprise,<sup>2</sup> while another Scot got hold of the Castle of Vincennes.<sup>3</sup> On the 13th of April, 1436, the English having made a sortie, one of the Paris gates was surrendered to Richemont, and thus he easily made himself master of the city.

Charles was then at Poitiers awaiting the arrival of Margaret, eldest daughter of James I., who had just set sail for France with an escort which deserves our notice.

The fleet, which consisted of 46 ships, was under the command of John of Cremach, Bishop of Brechin,<sup>4</sup> and Sir William Sainte-Claire, Earl of Orkney, and admiral of Scotland, accompanied by sundry brave

<sup>1</sup> *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, ann. 1433, *Panthéon Litt.*, p. 700, col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Archives Nationales*, xx., 1481, fol. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Berry, edited by Godefroy, p. 392; J. Chartier, *Chronique*, edited by Vallet, vol. i., p. 178; Vallet, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. ii., p. 349.

<sup>4</sup> Keith, *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, p. 163, Edinb. 1824, in 8vo.



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knights and esquires.<sup>1</sup> They were followed by 140 ladies and young gentlewomen,<sup>2</sup> and were guarded by 1000 armed men in three galleys and six barges.

To intercept this fleet the English put to sea with 180 ships, which lay in wait opposite the Raz de Bretagne, near Saint-Mathieu-de-Tradis. But, while the English amused themselves in capturing some Flemish merchantmen laden with cargoes of Rochelle wine, bound for Flanders, they were in turn attacked by the Spanish fleet and despoiled of their prize. Favoured by this fight, Margaret arrived half dead at the little port called La Palisse, north-east of the island of Ré.<sup>3</sup>

Margaret made her entry into Tours on the 24th of June, 1436, mounted on a richly caparisoned horse. Behind her rode Madame de la Roche on another horse; then came three carriages filled with ladies, one exclusively with Scotch ladies. As soon as the Princess had reached the city gates the Lords de Maillé and de Gamaches, who had preceded her on foot, took the reins of her horse, one each side, and led her thus to the Castle, where she dismounted. "And then," continues John Chartier, "my Lord de Vendome on one side and a Scotch earl on the other, led her into the hall of the Castle, where was

<sup>1</sup> Walter Ogilby, the King's treasurer, Herbert Herries, John Maxwell (second of Calderwood), John Campbell of Loudon, Thomas Coleville, John Wishart, knights; John Stewart, provost of Methfen, and Maurice Buchanan, treasurers of the Princess, clerks; the Laird of Graham, Henry Wardlaw of Torry, William Cairleil, Andrew Gray of Foulis (Fraser, *History of the Maxwells*, vol. i., p. 465); David Kennedy, son of Sir Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar (Wood's *Peerage*, vol. i., p. 326); Alexander Seton, Master of Gordon, afterwards Earl of Huntly. "His wife dying without children, and he being in the flower of his age, to divert his grief for the loss of her, went over to Charles VII., King of France, where there was yet hot warre betwixt the French and English; in which he had occasion to be trained up in the exercise of armes and military prudence; so that he became both a most stout and wary captaine, and after he returned to his country was, by King James the Second, . . . created Earl of Huntley and Lord Gordon" (*The Portrait of True Loyalty exposed in the Family of Gordon—Blair's College MS.*).

<sup>2</sup> Fraser, *History of the Maxwells*, vol. i., p. 465.

<sup>3</sup> Jo. Fordun & Goodall, *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi., cap. xii., vol. ii., p. 485; Arcère, *Histoire de la Rochelle*, vol. i., p. 274; Life of James I., p. 7; Fraser, *History of the Maxwells of Pollock*, vol. i., p. 465.

the Queen of France (Marie d'Anjou), the Queen of Sicily, and many other lords, ladies, and damsels."<sup>1</sup>

On the morrow the king arrived at Tours, and assisted at the nuptial blessing which was bestowed on his son and the Scottish princess. The greater part of the Scots who accompanied her returned to their country laden with presents; some remained with her or married French ladies; whilst some Scotch ladies, following the example of Princess Margaret, found French husbands. According to Balfour and other authorities, these ladies numbered 140.<sup>2</sup>

Margaret of Scotland was not happy in her wedded life. In spite of his youth the Dauphin was already engrossed with wars and political intrigues, and treated his wife with neglect and cruelty; perhaps also she was a restraint to the accomplishment of those dark plots which he concocted to secure the throne, as we shall see in the sequel.

In the spring of 1437, the Scots Guard followed Charles to Languedoc, then devastated by Rodrigo de Villa-Andrado. Charles went in pursuit of him, and after some engagements, in which several of the Scots Guards were wounded,<sup>3</sup> expelled him from the kingdom.

Having restored order in the south, Charles understood that the moment had arrived when a decisive blow might be struck at the English occupation. The English being masters of several strongholds on the Seine and the Marne prevented the arrival of provisions.

Accompanied by Alan Stewart, Lord Darneley, Constable of the Scottish army, John Montgomery,<sup>4</sup> and probably several other Scotch knights mentioned in the same accounts, Charles laid siege to Montereau on the 5th of October: that city was not merely an important military position, but was the scene of a tragic event, the remembrance of which it was desirable to efface. Charles appeared like a new man. Hitherto timid, he now led all operations in person. On the day of

<sup>1</sup> J. Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII.*, vol. i., p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Balfour's *Annals*, vol. i., p. 163; Fraser, *History of the Maxwells*, vol. i., p. 465; Jo. Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi., cap. xii., vol. ii., p. 485.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MSS., 684, Cabinet des Titres.

<sup>4</sup> Jehan de Montgomery, Escuier et Capitaine de lxxij hommes d'armes et vii<sup>xx</sup> archers (Cabinet des Titres, MS. No. 684).

the assault, he went armed into the trenches up to his middle in water. Sword in hand, he mounted the scaling ladder, and the King of France was one of the first who reached the battlements and entered the town.<sup>1</sup> Charles had gained his spurs as a knight, and he wore them as a king. With a splendid military train he set out for Paris, which he entered on the 12th of November, 1437.

Alain Chartier, although somewhat confused in his description of this pageant, says that there were 800 archers led by Lord de Graville, who marched before the king, and behind was the company of the body-guard, to the number of 120, very richly dressed.

But Charles did not stay long in Paris. Emboldened by the reinforcements sent to Calais by the Duke of Gloucester, the English took possession of Pontoise and Meaux, which made the victualling of the capital very difficult. Charles, who remembered that Meaux had stood out against the great army of Henry V. for more than nine months, refused at first to allow the Constable of Richemont to besiege the town. Richemont, chafed by this resolution, announced his intention of quitting the army, and of retiring into Brittany. Charles yielded, and the Constable accordingly began the siege of Meaux on the 20th of July, 1439. Amongst his followers we find some distinguished Scotch captains, such as Sir Thomas Houston, Jehan de Montgomery, Ranequin Kennedy, David Haliday, and Alain Forly.<sup>2</sup> Meaux was taken in fifteen days, and Sir Thomas Houston was the first to enter, but not without receiving many severe wounds. Charles rewarded him with the lordship of Gournay.<sup>3</sup>

Pontoise, a stronger place, offered far greater resistance. Worn out and discouraged by the siege, not a few of the leaders abandoned the king and retired.<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding their departure, Charles acted with greater energy than ever, and on the 29th of September ordered

<sup>1</sup> Vallet, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. ii., p. 383 ; Cagny, *ch. cli.*, etc. ; Catal. *Joursanvault*, vol. ii., p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Cabinet des Titres MS.*, 684.

<sup>3</sup> Sauval, *Histoire . . . des Antiquités de la Ville de Paris*, vol. iii., p. 389.

<sup>4</sup> Vallet, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. ii., p. 427.

a general assault, which he directed in person, reserving for himself the post of danger. Surrounded by his guard, he was amongst the first to enter the city.

“ Le feu roy et sa garde entra  
Des fins premiers en grande suyte.”<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the king and his brave followers were fighting at Creil and at Pontoise, Jean d'Armagnac kept up a clandestine correspondence with the English, and a letter from the garter king-at-arms was intercepted by Nicol Chamber, captain of the Scots Guard. This letter proves that the Duke of Alençon was betraying his country, and divulging to the English all the manoeuvres and preparations of the French army in Normandy.<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately, serious negotiations were opened by the English government with a view to a treaty of peace; and on the 20th of May, 1444, a truce was accepted by both parties as a preliminary. Commerce between the two nations was re-established. The soldier, for so long a time engaged in the work of destruction and in bloodshed, left the sword for the plough, and France began to revive and to recover its wonted prosperity.

Charles continued to reside at a distance from his capital. The beautiful country of Touraine, “the Garden of France” as it is popularly and justly termed, the flowery banks of the Loire made lovely by art as well as by nature, Amboise, Tours, Chinon, all alike contrived to make him linger amidst their enchanted scenes, or in their sumptuous palaces. Still, in the midst of this round of pleasures, Charles began one of those great works which made his reign illustrious: this was the reform of the army.

A whole army of adventurers was left unoccupied by the cessation

<sup>1</sup> Martial d'Auvergne, *Les Vigilles de la mort de Charles VII.*, Coustelier's edition; J. Chartier, *Chronique*, vol. ii., p. 27; *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, t. xvi., p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliothèque Nationale*, MS. 82, Bréquigny (Moreau 706), p. 12, etc.; MS. Baluze, 9037, 7, No. 13; D. Morice, vol. i., pp. 538, 539.



of hostilities with England. A truce had been concluded, but no definite treaty of peace had been signed. It would therefore have been injudicious to dismiss his powerful auxiliaries. Still it was equally imprudent to allow them to keep the field at the expense of the people, as they had hitherto done. Charles, therefore, willingly availed himself of the opportunity offered of an expedition against the Swiss, solicited by the House of Austria. He determined to bring together the captains and men-at-arms who were in the open country, to join to these a part of the garrisons of the strongholds on the frontiers, and thus form an army under the command of the Dauphin, who undertook to take them out of the kingdom. Thus he not only prevented these troopers from plundering and molesting his subjects, but he was at liberty to devote his whole time and energies to the prosecution of that army reform which was the one great object of his ambition.

The Dauphin put himself at the head of these troops, and set out in the month of July, 1444, with an army of 30,000 men. All nationalities were represented—Lombards and Gascons, Spaniards and English, Scots and Bretons, marched side by side.

The Scots, who it appears were very numerous, had for chief John Montgomery,<sup>1</sup> a Scotch knight, as Mathieu d'Escouchy terms him, the Lord d'Azay, and Robin Petit Lo (Patillok).

On the 26th of August, 1444, the Dauphin attacked the Swiss at St Jacques, near Bâle, and defeated them. After the battle he gave a new turn to the turbulent activity of his band of adventurers by giving

<sup>1</sup> " . . . Dominus d'Azay, Mongomery, Robin Pitlo, Isti sunt Scoti et habent magnum exercitum " (Archives of Strasbourg, Political Letters, AA. 183). " There is a curious story related of a quarrel which took place in Grenade sur l'Adour (Department of the Landes near Mont de Marsan) between an Irishman, John Ros, who was in the king's service in the company of Robin Patillok, and John Crædo, a native of Wales. One day at supper the conversation turned on John Montgomery. Crædo affirmed that he was very rich, and that one day he saw his wife in a gown which was worth 22,000 écus. John Ros said he did not believe it; at which the other, being piqued, replied *that he cared no more about his belief than about his old shoes*. A quarrel was the consequence, blows were struck, and blood was shed " (Trésor des Chartes, JJ. 179, fol. 176, v°; M. Tuetey, Les Ecorcheurs sous Charles VII., Montbéliard, vol. ii., p. 511—1874, 2 vols. 8vo).

up to them the plains of Alsace. He himself surrounded Dambach at the foot of the Vosges, between Schelestadt and Barr, which refused to surrender. This city was taken by assault in the month of October by the troops of Robin Patillok<sup>1</sup> and John Montgomery. The Dauphin confided the place to them, and they established their winter quarters there.

It is probable that, like the rest of the army, they suffered from want of provisions, and were compelled to have recourse to plunder. "The Dauphin's troops," says Mathieu d'Escouchy, "made frequent incursions into the valley of the Rhine, and *frequently returned laden with prey and booty, but they had often to bear the brunt of battle*, their adversaries being the people of the communes and plains, who killed and destroyed their men."<sup>2</sup> It was thus that on the 2d of February, 800 men belonging to the Scotch contingent of the Dambach garrison having ventured one morning as far as Ebermunster were suddenly assailed by a force from Strasbourg posted in that place. In this fray John Montgomery, one of the most renowned leaders not only of the Scots but of the whole army, lost his life. His body was transported to Dambach by his countrymen, put into a mixture of wine and oil, and sent to Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

In the month of December 1444, the Archbishop of Treves was commissioned by the court of Austria to represent to Charles the great evils undergone by the inhabitants of Alsace. Charles and the Dauphin agreed to recall their troops before the end of March.<sup>4</sup>

Accordingly, on the 17th of March, 800 knights, commanded by the Lord d'Orval and Marshal de Jalognes, set out for France. They were joined by the Scotch garrison at Dambach. Having to march through the Val de Liepvre, the most dangerous pass in the Vosges,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robin Patillok's brother was killed, and his body was conveyed to Issenheim, near Guebwiller, and buried there.

<sup>2</sup> Mathieu d'Escouchy, edited by the *Mis. de Beaucourt*, vol. i., p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Shilter, *Chroniques de Kœnigshoven*, pp. 993-1017; Tuetey, quoted by Tuetey, *Les Ecorcheurs*, vol. i., p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Tuetey, *l. c.*

<sup>5</sup> Through which passes the road from Schelestadt to S. Dié.

they formed themselves into three columns. It was in one of the narrow gorges of this defile that the Dauphin's army underwent one of the most disastrous defeats of the whole campaign.

Having heard of their march, 500 Alsatian volunteers conceived the design of taking them by surprise. To this effect they took up a position on a portion of the route which was so narrow that two horsemen could scarcely pass together. The army entered the pass on the 18th of March, 1445. The rear-guard was composed of Scots, with the *élite* of the captains. When they arrived at the narrow gorge where their enemies lay in ambush, they were suddenly attacked. An avalanche of stones and trunks of trees was let loose upon them amid terrible shouts. Three hundred were left dead on the spot, amongst whom were many noble lords, captains, and leaders.<sup>1</sup>

As the troops of the Dauphin were returning from Alsace by the states of Burgundy, the Constable of Richemont, armed with royal instructions and accompanied by soldiers devoted to his person, with the duke's agreement, arrived at Montbéliard, where he found the remnant of that force that had passed through the fiery ordeal of Saint Jacques and had escaped the vengeance of the peasantry. Without encountering opposition, he began his work of assortment (July 1445).

"When they had arrived," says his secretary, William Gruel, "my lord drew them up on parade, broke those who were to be broken, and incorporated the good men in regular companies (*compagnies d'ordonnance*). The menials and baggage were sent off, . . . the captains were appointed, and this arrangement has subsisted ever since. Thus were the people relieved from plunder."<sup>2</sup>

From the fifteen ordnance companies thus formed, according to the decision of the king's council, we date the first regular and permanent organisation of the French army.<sup>3</sup>

"Two of these companies," says General Susanne, "entirely com-

<sup>1</sup> Shilter, *Chroniques de Kœnigshoven*, pp. 935, 108, 1019; Tuetey, *Les Ecorcheurs*, vol. i., p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. Petitot, vol. viii., p. 533.

<sup>3</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, vol. i., p. 31 (Paris, 1874, 3 vols. in 12mo).

posed of Scots, had been established for some years, and probably composed part of the faithful escort which accompanied the Constable of Richemont to Montbéliard, and which assisted him in reforming or disbanding the remains of the Dauphin's army."

"The first was the company of John Stewart, Lord of Aubigny," which later and up to 1788 was known as "LES GENDARMES ECOSSAIS (*Scots Men-at-arms*), and was brought into France in 1422.<sup>1</sup>

"The second . . . became the first company of the Royal Lifeguards, called *COMPAGNIE ECOSSAISE, de la garde du Corps du Roi*."<sup>2</sup>

Such was the origin of the two celebrated Scottish corps, whose feats of arms and fidelity in the service of France, up to the last days of the monarchy, we here propose to record.

The honours paid to the Scots are quite justified, if we consider that for more than twenty-five years, notwithstanding the desperate state of the royal cause, unshaken in their attachment to France, they had undergone all the hardships of a long and cruel war in a devastated country; and we have a right to abide by this solemn declaration of Louis XII., that "*the institution of the Scots Men-at-arms and Scots Lifeguards was an acknowledgment of the service the Scots rendered to Charles the Seventh in reducing France to his obedience, and of the great loyalty and virtue which he found in them.*"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, vol. i., p. 36. "Charles VII. had given Sir John Stewart of Derneley, Constable of the Scottish army," all the charge of the Scottish *gens d'armes et de trait* (men-at-arms and archers) in his majesty's service (Accounts of Hemon Raguier, from the 21st of November, 1422, to the last of December, 1423). See Andrew Stewart, *History of the Stewarts*, Appendix No. III.

<sup>2</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, vol. i., p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Letters of General Naturalisation for the whole Scottish Nation in France, given by King Louis XII. in 1513. Cf. Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. ii., p. 104.











## CHAPTER IV.

### THE DAUPHIN ATTEMPTS TO BRIBE THE SCOTS GUARDS— THE REDUCTION OF NORMANDY.

THE formation of the fifteen companies of men-at-arms was a death-blow to the independence of the lords. The most powerful of these, sustained by the Dauphin Louis, revolted against the king and organised a formidable league. Charles, compelled to march against his son, overcame the first rebels and constrained them to ask for mercy. The Dauphin was restored to court, but he never ceased to plot against his father.

In the month of April 1446, Louis was at the court at Chinon. While standing at a window together with Antoine de Chabannes (a captain who had been cashiered at the time of the army reform), he saw one of the Scots Guards pass in uniform with his sword at his side. "There goes one of the men who keep the kingdom in subjection," remarked the Dauphin. "What is he?" asked Chabannes. "He is a Scot," answered the Dauphin. Then he laid before Chabannes a plot, of which the programme was, to gain the Scots, remove the king, and murder Pierre de Brézé. Antoine de Chabannes was to receive 10,000 *écus* for his part in the work, and was promised other good things. Chabannes made some objections, which were overcome by his receiving the money in hand. But he communicated this overture to his brother, who dissuaded him from entering into the conspiracy, and made him return the money. Thus the project was forcibly abandoned for some time.<sup>1</sup> But a few months after, Louis renewed his attempts to gain the Scots over, and began to put actively

<sup>1</sup> Duclos (ch.), *Historie de Louis XI.*, vol. iii., *Recueil de Pièces*, p. 61.

into execution the plans which had been adjourned. Brézé, Sénéchal of Anjou, whose life was menaced, complained to the king, who commanded Chabannes to be brought before him and to disclose the facts. The chancellor inquired into the affair, and received the evidence, in the king's presence, of many of the Scots Guards, who, although not acquainted with all the complications of the Dauphin's plot, were aware that an attempt had been made to gain them over, and that the prince had formed a design against the government.<sup>1</sup>

The Dauphin, in presence of his father, denied the allegations of Chabannes. "Louis," said the king, "I do not believe you. I banish you for four months from my kingdom." Whereupon the Dauphin left his father's chamber bare-headed and said: "By this head, which has no covering, I will be revenged on those who have driven me from my house."<sup>2</sup> We shall ere long come across his intrigues in Normandy.

On the 24th of May, 1449, one of the English captains had the audacity to take possession of Fougères in Brittany, and thus openly break the truce. This act furnished Charles, who was prepared for war, with a pretext to invade Normandy. Verneuil, Pont-Audemer, Lisieux, Mantes, and many other cities fell rapidly into his hands. This result was effected by the new order of things, the companies of men-at-arms being all well officered, well disciplined, and devoted to the king's service.

On the 6th of October, 1449, Charles summoned Rouen to surrender. The Scots, commanded by Robert Cunningham, distinguished themselves at the siege of that city, and for his services during the siege William Monypenny, Lord of Concessault, gained the order of knighthood. On the 10th of November, after the surrender of the forts, Charles entered the city in state.<sup>3</sup> He was accompanied by the Scots Guards sumptuously equipped — "archers and crossbowmen, about 120, more gorgeously clad than the rest. They wore jackets

<sup>1</sup> Duclos, *Recueil de Pièces*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Chartier, vol. iii., p. 129; MS. *Résidu St Germain*, No. 143, fols. 8, 15, 98; Vallet, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. iii., p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> J. Chartier, *Chronique*, vol. ii., p. 154; MSS. *Gaign.*, No. 772, 2, fol. 430.

without sleeves, red, white, and green, covered with gold embroidery, with plumes in their helms of the same colours, and their swords and leg-harness richly mounted in silver."<sup>1</sup>

After the fall of Rouen, the English despaired of retaining their grasp on upper Normandy, and withdrew their troops into the lower country. They still held Caen the capital, Cherbourg, a port of the first order, Bayeux, and other cities, besides the whole seaboard. Concentrating their resources in this region, they made every preparation for a last struggle. The young Count de Clermont, accompanied by the Constable of Richemont and Robert Cunningham, followed them up, and came upon their entrenchment in the village of Formigny. After a severe fight the English gave way. Robert Cunningham and his men performed brilliant feats of arms at the siege of Bayeux, and at the same moment Avranches opened its gates to the victorious French.

Caen was the next point to attack. Charles determined to direct personally the siege of this town, and accordingly hastened thither. This was in the month of June, 1450. The defection and treasonable corruption of many of the French lords encouraged the English to tamper with the Scots. Robert or Robin Campbell, a lieutenant of Robert Cunningham, William Cunningham, Robert Johnston, and James Haliburton were involved in a plot with the English. The Duke of Somerset arranged with them for the sum of 4000 *écus* and other pecuniary advantages to deliver up to him one of the principal generals of the French army, namely, the Count of Dunois, the Lord de Villequier, Jacques Cœur, and Jean Bureau. Their plan was to introduce fifteen hundred English soldiers between the two lines of siege where Charles' camp was situated, to set fire to the powder and create havoc amongst the besiegers. The plot was discovered and the accused brought to trial. The parliament of Paris declared Robert Campbell guilty of high treason. The sentence of the Court delivered

<sup>1</sup> Mathieu d'Escouchy, edited by de Beaucourt, vol. i., p. 235 ; J. Chartier, vol. ii., p. 161 ; Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. français, 2596 ; Berry, *Le Recouvrement de Normandie* —J. Stevenson, *Narrative of the Expulsion of the English*, p. 315 (London 1863, 8vo).

on the 8th of August, 1455, was "to be dragged on a hurdle from the Conciergerie to the market-place, and there to be beheaded; his body to be quartered, and each of the quarters to be hung on one of the gallows of the four principal gates of Paris, his head to be exposed on the pillory, and all his goods in the kingdom to be confiscated."<sup>1</sup> This sentence received immediate execution. The other prisoners were remanded for further inquiries.<sup>2</sup> Robert Cunningham was in his turn brought to trial. He belonged to one of the best families in Scotland, and King James exerted himself in his favour, as also in behalf of the other accused. His letter to the King of France is still preserved. After many compliments James continues, that he has been informed of the arrest of Robert Cunningham for treason, but for his own part he can only consider this arrest as due to the wicked and calumnious accusations of jealous enemies. If the accused is really guilty, James does not wish to excuse his crime; if, on the contrary, and the ever loyal conduct of his ancestors would give weight to the supposition, Cunningham is the victim at this moment of an infamous calumny, he begs that he may be permitted to defend himself against his enemies and rivals, and that, considering the alliance of the two kingdoms, he may have the benefit of the French laws, and defend himself by duel or by any other legitimate means. If his innocence is proved, let him know how much he is beholden to the prayers of the King of Scotland and the King of France, and let him send letters of thanksgiving to Thomas, Archbishop of Withern, John of Cenes, Provost of St Andrews, and to Squire Archibald Cunningham. This letter is dated at Stirling, April 15th, and signed by the king.<sup>3</sup> It was accompanied by a most respectful petition addressed to the King of France by twelve Scotch noblemen, presented by Archibald Cunningham, brother

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MS., Dupuy, No. 38, fols. 88, 89; Vallet, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. iii, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Two of them, William Cunningham and Robert Johnson, men-at-arms, appear on a muster-roll of the company commanded by Robert Cunningham in the month of October, 1469.

A note indicates that it was received at Lyons on the 16th of October, 1456.

of the accused. The signers set forth in this petition the great services rendered by the accused both to Scotland and to France, and that the persecutions suffered by Robert were evidently the result of calumnious denunciations. This petition concludes in the manner of the times by a challenge in the name of the Scotch nobility, all the signers undertaking in turn to sustain in personal combat the honour of Robert Cunningham. Their twelve seals are attached as a pledge of their faith.<sup>1</sup> This also bears date the 15th of April. Other petitions were addressed to the statesmen of the king, and Robert Cunningham regained his liberty. As to Campbell, at the request of his ally, Charles VII. sent a copy or extract of the criminal process, which contained the confessions of the accused. By the aid of this document James was enabled to calm the excitement and discontent which the execution of the sentence had raised in Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

It may not be out of place to observe that some of the principal lords, irritated by the ordinances reforming the army, had leagued together against the king. John, Duke of Alençon, and John, Count of Armagnac, allied themselves secretly with the English (1456), and the Dauphin threatened openly to take their part. Their example may have influenced Robert Campbell to commit an act of treason; it must be observed, however, that even the best writers on the reign of Charles VII. have been mistaken in asserting that Robert Cunningham was then captain of the Scots Lifeguards, and Robert Campbell one of its officers. Their names are not to be found on the Muster Rolls of 1450, and the same Rolls prove that Patrick Flockart was then captain

<sup>1</sup> Their names, strangely altered, are given as follows by L'Hermite Souliers—"Alan, lord Monkredding; Alexander, lord Kilmaurs; Robert, lord Boyd; William Murray de Polmaise, John Kennedy de Blairquhan, and Robert Cunningham of Auchenharris." As to "*Alanus dominus de Kaulkeret and Joannes Rosy de Haufrate*," M. Francisque-Michel suggests that they might represent Alan, Lord Cathcart, and John Ross of Hawkhead. L'Hermite Souliers, *Histoire Généalogique de la Noblesse de Touraine*, etc., 1659, in fol., p. 152, etc.—Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecosais en France*, vol. i., p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> J. Stevenson, *Henri VI.*, vol. i., p. 335.

of the Scots Guards ;<sup>1</sup> whereas Robert Cunningham was not appointed before 1473. In his account of the Scots Guard, Le Pipre de Neuville ascribes to envy and jealousy the persecution suffered by Robert Cunningham ;<sup>2</sup> and the king's herald, Berry, a contemporary writer, after mentioning him as present at the siege of Caen, adds that "during the whole of the war in Normandy, Robert Cunningham behaved nobly, most bravely, and most honourably."<sup>3</sup> When in 1473 Louis XI. confided the Scots Guard to his command, it is not to be credited that so great a master of statecraft would have given him a post of such importance had he not had the most implicit confidence in his honour and integrity. Robert Cunningham was also present at the fall of Cherbourg, the only city in Normandy that had not been recaptured.<sup>4</sup>

Charles, without loss of time, took advantage of the discomfiture of his enemies, and the same year which saw Normandy reconquered saw Guyenne invaded. Charles' anxiety in regard to this province is well expressed in a confidential paper addressed by him in January, 1457, to his ally the King of Scotland :

"The country of Guienne had been English for the space of 300 years or thereabouts, and the people of the district being at heart entirely inclined to the English party, it was more necessary to be watchful over that than over any other of his lands. And for this reason " Charles " caused a large number of troops to remain there continually under the charge and care of the most celebrated men of his realm."<sup>5</sup>

Amongst them may be noticed some distinguished Scotch captains, such as Robert Cunningham and Robert Patillok. In November,

<sup>1</sup> "Capitanio guardæ regis Francorum" (General Register House, Edinb., Reg. Mag. Sig., B.V., No. 79).

<sup>2</sup> Lamoral Le Pipre de Neuville, *Abrégé Chronologique . . . de l'état de la maison du Roi*, Liège 1734, vol. i. (3 vols. in 4to).

<sup>3</sup> "Ladite guerre (de Normandie) durant s'y gouverna grandement, moult vaillamment et très-honorablement Robert Coningan" (J. Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII.*, vol. ii., p. 236).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> From the Baluze MS., 9987, 3, fol. 47 (Stevenson, *Henry VI.*, vol. i., p. 343).

1450, we find Robert Patillok overrunning the Bordelais in company with other captains, laying siege to Mont Guyon and Blaye,<sup>1</sup> and then to Bayonne in 1451 along with Robert Cunningham.<sup>2</sup> On the 18th of August, 1451, Bayonne opened its gates to the royal army, and the campaign was concluded by the surrender of Bordeaux on the 9th of October, 1452.

By his prudent conduct and valour Robert Patillok had regained from the English one of the richest parts in France; so that as long as he lived he was called by the inhabitants the Little King of Gascony.<sup>3</sup> In a letter written by Charles VII. in 1448, conferring on Patillok the Castle and Lordship of Sauveterre, we find the highest encomiums bestowed on his "well beloved esquire" for his gallant behaviour and inestimable "services to the kingdom and commonwealth. As an encouragement to others to follow his noble example, the king bestows on him a residence in the kingdom."<sup>4</sup>

According to a tradition cherished in the Scots Guard, Robert Patillok, after his death, was honoured by Louis XI., by having his statue placed in the hall of the Royal Palace.<sup>5</sup>

Guyenne being definitively reconquered, Calais and Guines were the only cities in the kingdom held by English troops. Charles, however, was not allowed to recover them; after reconquering almost all that his predecessors had lost during a century of bloodshed, he expired on the 22d of July, 1461. His death caused great lamentation amongst his devoted Scots.

"Les gens et serviteurs pleuroient  
A chaudes larmes fondamment

"Et les Escossoys hault crioient  
Par forme de gémissement."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Chartier, *Chronique*, vol. iii., p. 247, 314.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> *Chroniklis of Scotland*, the 10th buke, p. 495.

<sup>4</sup> Archives, JJ., 179, p. 99, recto.

<sup>5</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Recueil de Clairambault MS., No. 818, fol. 5; Davity, *Nouveau Théâtre du Monde*, etc., vol. ii., p. 922 (Paris 1661, in folio).

<sup>6</sup> Les Vigilles de la Mort de Charles VII., amongst the poems of Martial of Paris, 2d part, p. 167.

## CHAPTER V.

### LOUIS XI.—THE KING OF FRANCE TWICE SAVED BY THE SCOTS GUARDS.

AT the death of Charles VII., the Dauphin was proclaimed King of France by the name of Louis XI. On the day of his coronation the Duke of Burgundy paid him homage, and begged him to forgive all his enemies. Louis promised to comply with his request with the exception of eight persons, whose names he kept secret in order to reserve for himself greater liberty of action. His vindictive feelings hurried him into the adoption of violent measures, in opposition to the policy of the preceding reign. He dismissed the ministers and chief officers holding high stations while his father occupied the throne, but spared the Scots Guard that he had vainly endeavoured to bribe some years before, nor had he reason to regret his reliance on their services, for on more than one occasion they saved his life. Determined to diminish the power of the nobles and to increase the royal prerogatives, Louis promulgated afresh the ordinances of Charles VII., against which he had himself protested. The nobles revolted, and in the spring of 1465, the great landed proprietors that had joined the Count de Charolais marched on Paris.

“The news of this movement was immediately despatched to the king, who was on this side of Orleans on his march towards Paris, and who in all haste, by long and tedious marches, arrived at Chartres near Montlhéry on Tuesday morning, the 6th of July; from whence without staying so much as to refresh himself, or to wait for the coming up of his whole army, which was composed of the finest horse that ever were seen, he marched directly towards the Burgundians, whom he attacked with so much vigour and intrepidity











(though but with a handful of men), that at the first charge he broke and entirely defeated their vanguard, of which a great number were killed and taken prisoners. Louis not being content with defeating the enemy's vanguard, and hoping to gain a complete victory over them, without refreshing either himself or his troops, once more attacked with only his own guards and 400 lances a strong party of the Burgundians who had rallied. They gave the king's troops a warm reception, and being drawn up in order of battle, with their cannon playing upon them, sorely galled them. Great numbers were killed, among whom were several officers of the king's own guard, who behaved themselves handsomely during the whole action, and stood firmly by the king, who was hard put to it that day, and several times in danger of his own person; for he had but a handful of men, and no cannon. The king was pressed so hard by the Burgundians that he knew not which way to turn himself, and was forced to charge at the head of his troops during this engagement, and though he had but a small body with him, yet he still maintained his ground; and if he had had a reinforcement but of 500 archers, he would have gained a complete victory.

"Not a few men of note fell on both sides, and after the battle was over the number of the slain was computed at 3600 men. Towards night the Scots Guards, considering the danger the king was in and the great loss they had sustained, and finding that the Burgundians were still pursuing those squadrons they had already broken, took his majesty, who had been in arms all day without eating and drinking, and was much fatigued and dispirited, and carried him safe to the castle of Montlhéry."<sup>1</sup>

Louis experienced no great difficulty in breaking up the league of the disappointed nobles; but as it was less easy to come to terms with the Duke of Burgundy, he entered into negotiations with the Liégeois, allied to the duke, and ever ready to revolt. He therefore despatched Robert Cunningham, one of his most skilful officers, to see what could be done in that direction.<sup>2</sup> Although he had collected a

<sup>1</sup> The Chronicles of Jean de Troyes, Coll. Petitot, vol. xiii., p. 318.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., p. 360.

powerful army to defend himself against the Duke of Burgundy, misled by La Balue, he thought he might venture to negotiate with his antagonist, notwithstanding his understanding with the Liégeois; so, having obtained a safe-conduct from Charles, he offered to meet him at Péronne, and repaired thither with his Scots guard. On the third day after the commencement of the negotiations, news came that the Liégeois had revolted at the instigation of the King of France. Incensed at his treachery, the Duke of Burgundy thought of putting the king to death, and it was not without difficulty that the advisers of the duke, bribed by Louis, persuaded their sovereign to content himself with exacting advantageous terms, now that his adversary was in his power. Louis agreed to the conditions required of him, and consented to act with the duke against the Liégeois.

When Charles and the King of France came up, they took their quarters in two villas situated near the wall of the city. "The king's guards consisted of 100 Scots, and his household troops were posted in a village near him. The Duke of Burgundy was extremely jealous lest either the king should find means to get into the city or return home before he could take it, or else (being so near) make some attempt upon his person. To prevent the worst he made a draught out of his guards of 300 of the stoutest men-at-arms that he could depend on, and posted them in a great barn that lay between their two quarters. The walls of the barn were broken down to render their sallies the more easy if there should be occasion; and these troops were placed to watch and observe the king's motions, who was quartered just by them. In this manner we spent eight days, during which (for on the last day the town was taken) neither the duke nor anybody else pulled off their armour. The night before the surrender, at a council of war, it was concluded to storm the town the next morning, which was Sunday, the 30th of October, 1468. Accordingly orders were given out that at a certain signal (which was the firing of one great gun alone, then of two serpentines presently after, and then discontinuing) without further orders they should begin the assault on one side, as the duke designed to attack them on











the other by eight in the morning. That night (as was concluded) the duke disarmed himself, and ordered all his army to do the same, and to refresh themselves, especially those in the barn." The citizens, who had probably information of their intent, resolved to prevent their purpose, and determined on anticipating it by a desperate sally through the breaches in their walls. They placed at their head 600 of the men of the little territory of Franchemont belonging to the bishopric of Liège, and reckoned the most valiant of their troops.

Commynes, who was present, gives this distinct narrative of what he saw of the affair: "At about ten o'clock at night the 600 men from Franchemont sallied forth by the breaches of the walls, seized upon the most of our out-guards, and put them to the sword (among whom there were three gentlemen of the household of the Duke of Burgundy); and certainly if they had marched on directly and made no noise till they had arrived at the place where they had designed, they had slain both those princes in their beds without any great opposition. Behind the Duke of Burgundy's quarters there was a tent in which the present Duke of Alençon lay, and with him the Lord of Craon.<sup>1</sup> They stopped there for some time, thrust their pikes through the tent, and killed some of the servants. This giving an alarm to the whole army, some few ran to their arms, several got up, and leaving their tents ran immediately to the two houses where the king and the duke were quartered. The barn I mentioned before, where the duke had posted 300 men-at-arms, being close to both houses, they gave them some thrusts with their pikes out of the holes which had been made for the convenience of their sallies. Not full two hours before this attack these gentlemen had pulled off their arms to refresh and prepare for the assault the next day, so that most of them were unarmed, though some few had clapped on their cuirasses upon the uproar at the Duke of Alençon's tent, and attacked the invaders through the doors and the holes which they had made, and were the only body of troops that preserved those two great princes, for by this delay several others had time enough to arm and make head against them. I and two gentlemen more of his bedchamber lay that

<sup>1</sup> George de la Trémouille.

night in the Duke of Burgundy's chamber (which was very small), and above us there were twelve archers upon the guard, all of them in their clothes, and playing at dice. His main guard was at a good distance, and towards the gate of the town. In short, the master of the house where the duke was quartered, having drawn out a good party of the Liégeois, came so suddenly upon the duke that we had scarce time to put on his cuirass and breastplate and clap a steel cape upon his head : as soon as we had done it, we ran down the stairs into the street, but we found our archers engaged with the enemy, and much ado they had to defend the doors and the windows against them. In the street there was a terrible noise and uproar, some crying out, 'God bless the king!' others, 'God bless the Duke of Burgundy!' and others, 'God bless the king!' and 'Kill! Kill!' It was some time before our archers and we could beat the enemy from the doors and get out of the house. We knew not in what condition the king was, nor whether he was for or against us, which put us into a great consternation. As soon as we were got into the street, by the help of two or three torches we discovered some few of our men, and could perceive people fighting round about us ; but the action there lasted not long, for the soldiers from all parts came in thronging to the duke's quarter. The duke's landlord was the first man of the enemy's side that was killed (who died not presently, for I heard him speak), and with him his whole party (at least the greatest part of them) were cut in pieces.

The king was also assaulted after the same manner by his landlord, who entered his house, but was slain by the Scots Guards. These Scots behaved themselves valiantly, maintained their ground, would not stir one step from the king, and were very nimble with their bows and arrows, with which it is said they wounded and killed more of the Burgundians than of the enemy. Those who were appointed made their sally at the gate, but they found a strong guard to oppose them, who gave them a warm reception, and presently repulsed them, they not being so good soldiers as the others. As soon as these people were repulsed, the king and duke met and had a conference together ; seeing several lie dead about them, they were

afraid their loss had been greater than really it proved to be ; for upon examination they found they had not lost many men, though several were wounded ; and undoubtedly, if they had not stopped at those two places, and especially at the barn (where they met with considerable opposition), but had followed their guides, they had killed both the king and the Duke of Burgundy, and in all probability would have defeated the rest of the army.”<sup>1</sup>

The danger from which he had escaped made Louis think of increasing the number of his defenders, and shortly afterwards (1474) he formed a new company of a hundred guardsmen, to which none were admitted save such as could furnish undeniable proof of good descent, the command of which he gave to Archambault Kniston, “*Cousin du roi d'Ecosse*,” having under his orders Blanchet d'Aubigny (Stewart), Robert Montgomery,<sup>2</sup> and Alexander Monipeny.

At the same time we find amongst his counsellors the Bishop of Aberdeen,<sup>3</sup> Sir William Monipeny, and Patrick Flockart, who had commanded the life-guards under Charles VII. Sir William Monipeny, counsellor and chamberlain to the king, having been sent on an embassy to Scotland, on his return in 1468 fell into the hands of the Bretons, who exacted from him a large ransom, which was paid by the Bishop of Rochester, who brought him back to France under the protection of an English safe-conduct.<sup>4</sup> Sir William Monipeny had trained his son to follow his father's footsteps, and when George had taken his degree as doctor of law, the king sent him to Scotland to request aid in case of a war with England.<sup>5</sup> To reward his services and those of his son, Sir William Monipeny, Lord of Concessault, received in 1474 for himself and his heirs the lands of Vila (near

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Philippe de Commines, Book II., ch. xii., translated by A. Scoble. Lond., 1856, 2 vols.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Clairambault MSS., No. 817, fol. 127 ; and MS. No. 7998, fond français.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 20,685, fol. 417.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, MS. 20,685, fol. 434 (September 1468).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, MS. 20,685, fol. 503.

Agen) and Aubin,<sup>1</sup> and Alexander Monipeny was appointed steward of the royal palace.<sup>2</sup> Patrick Flockart, who became Sénéchal of Saintonge, and James Vernor, Lord of Montreuil Bonin, also received considerable rewards.<sup>3</sup> Less fortunate, Oyel de Baygnan, Esquire, Lord of La Pommeraye in Touraine, served under Charles VII. against the English, commanded a Scotch company, and for some time had charge of the Comte de Dammartin, whom Louis caused to be arrested and confined in the Bastille on his accession, but the escape of the illustrious captive led to the disgrace and imprisonment of Oyel de Baygnan, and caused him to compose his device—

“ Je suys sans doutance  
An poine sans offence.”<sup>4</sup>

Pressed by Louis XI., King James III. took steps for going over to France, at the head of six thousand men, to help Louis to crush the Duke of Burgundy, but the estates interfered to stop the expedition, pointing out to the king that “he had enough to do at home, and commenting on the questionable dealing of King Louis as to the countship of Saintonge, which was to have been made over to the crown of Scotland on his marriage with the daughter of James I.”<sup>5</sup>

The negotiations having fallen through, Louis applied himself as best he might to disarm his adversaries by bribes and promises of money. Yet, if he was lavish of the treasure of his subjects, he was cautious how he risked their lives, and succeeded with very little bloodshed in annexing to the crown large and valuable provinces.

In his declining years, living the life of a recluse in the Castle of Plessis-les-Tours, Louis became more anxious and more morose than ever. He was suspicious of every one, especially of “persons whose

<sup>1</sup> Ordonnances, etc., vol. xviii., p. 40, note a, col. 2; p. 159, note a, col. 2; p. 317, note a.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MS., 20,685, account of 1470.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, MSS. 20,685, p. 577.

<sup>4</sup> Histoire Généalogique de la Noblesse de Touraine, etc., p. 59-61.

<sup>5</sup> Act. Parl. ii., 102, 104; Hill Burton, History of Scotland, Edinb. 1857, vol. iii., p. 175.

position and talents entitled them to authority, even of his son, whom he kept in close confinement, and towards the end of his career his mistrust extended to his daughter Anne, and to Pierre de Bourbon, his son-in-law. One day, when Bourbon and Dunois had entered the castle with a numerous train, the king was much displeased, and ordered Robert Cunningham, the captain of his guard, to discover adroitly whether the attendants of those noblemen wore shirts of mail under their robes."<sup>1</sup>

His Scots Guards might have said with Quentin Durward, "Were I King Louis, I would trust my safety to the faith of the three hundred Scottish gentlemen, throw down my bounding walls to fill up the moat, call in my noble peers and paladins, and live as became me, amid breaking of lances in gallant tournaments, and feasting of days with nobles, and have no more fear of a foe than I have of a fly."<sup>2</sup>

It was to his Scots Guards that on his deathbed Louis entrusted the care of his son Charles.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Philippe de Commines, Book VI., ch. xii., p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Quentin Durward*.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CHARLES VIII.—ITALIAN WARS.

ONE of the first acts of Charles VIII. was to send Bernard Stewart to Scotland to announce his accession to the throne, and at the same time to conclude a treaty confirming and renewing the alliances between France and Scotland. The treaty was signed in Edinburgh on the 22d of March, 1483, and James III. swore to maintain the bonds which had so long united the two countries. The year following an embassy left Edinburgh commissioned to receive the oath of Charles VIII.

Meanwhile the Earl of Richmond, on the point of being arrested by Richard III., fled to the French court, and implored the help of Charles VIII. In 1485, Bernard Stewart was sent to England with a detachment of troops largely reinforced by Scotch recruits, and encountered Richard at Bosworth, where he was killed, and the Earl of Richmond (Henry VII.) proclaimed King of England.<sup>1</sup> "On which account," says Leslie, "the said earl after he became king was ever thereafter wonderfully attached to the Scottish nation."<sup>2</sup>

At peace with England, Charles breathed more freely, as he devoted himself heart and soul to the prosecution of his visionary designs on Italy. Brighter days, too, seemed to be in store for the French nobles, now released from the atmosphere which hung like a pall over the whilom state prisoners confined during the late years to their manors. Among those stalwart men-at-arms with glittering breast-plates and plumed helmets towers Cuthbert Carr, Lord of St Quentin. When the Chevalier Bayard, who began his career in 1494, held high

<sup>1</sup> Drummond of Hawthornden, *History of the Five Jameses of Scotland*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie, *De rebus gestis Scotorum*, lib. viii., p. 311.











festival and gave a tournament at Aire, Cuthbert was one of the judges of the field. David de Fougas,<sup>1</sup> a Scots Guard, distinguished himself greatly, and carried off the prize on the second day.<sup>2</sup> In the spring of 1494, the Scotch company commanded by Cuthbert was ordered to Lyon, where Charles was assembling the finest army that had been seen in France for years, with which he was to march triumphantly to Naples, and to inaugurate the first campaign of a war occupying two-thirds of the sixteenth century.

On the 8th of September, 1494, Charles VIII. passes Mount Geneva, after having given Stewart of Aubigny directions to send his force across the Simplon and the St Bernard. The king's journey through the towns of Piedmont and Lombardy is a festal progress. Florence welcomes him as a deliverer, and on the 15th of November Charles enters that city, lance on thigh,<sup>3</sup> at the head of his troops, surrounded by his Scots Guards whom Octavien de Saint Gelais has depicted in the following lines :

“Après vindrent les archiers de la garde,  
Grans, puissans, bien croisez, bien fenduz,  
Qui ne portaient picque ne halebarde,  
Fors que leurs arcz gorriement<sup>4</sup> tenduz,  
Leurs bracelez aux pongnetz estenduz  
Bien attachez à grans chaynes d'argent,  
Autour du col le gorgerin bien gent,  
De cramoisy le plantureux pourpoint  
Assez propre, fusse pour un regent  
Ou grant duc, accoustré bien à point,  
Dessus le chief la bien clere sallade  
A cloux dorez fourniz de pierreries,  
Dessus le dos le hocqueton fort sade  
Tout sursemé de fine orphaverie,  
La courte dague, l'espée bien fourbie,  
La gaye trousse à custode vermeille,  
Le pied en l'air, aux escoutes l'oreille.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> David Foggo.

<sup>2</sup> Mémoires du Loyal Serviteur, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Con la lanza in sulla coscia.

<sup>4</sup> Guerrièrément.

<sup>5</sup> Le Vergier d'honneur, etc., p. 49, col. 2 (Paris, n.d., in fol.) ; Journal d'André de la Vigne in Godefroy's History of Charles VIII., p. 118.

A contemporary writer gives the following details, which help to illustrate the verses in question: "Nearest the king march 25 Scots archers, denominated lifeguardsmen, arrayed in white jerkins embroidered with gold from top to bottom, and bearing a crown on the breast. Now the above-mentioned archers are under the orders of my Lord Stewart of Aubigny, and are quartered nearest the king's chamber. My Lord Stewart of Aubigny has under his orders all the other Scots guardsmen, as well as 100 men-at-arms not entered on the Guard Muster Roll; and the aforesaid Scots, as soon as it is dark, and when the officer in command has retired with his archers, mount guard, while the captain of the 100 guardsmen [not the officer in command of the 25 lifeguardsmen] goes to fetch the keys."<sup>1</sup>

"These archers," says an eye-witness, "were real giants, for the shortest of them stood nine hands high. No finer troop could be seen; they were all on foot, and were armed with halberds."<sup>2</sup>

When the king left Florence and entered Rome on the 31st of December, 1494, his Scots Guards attracted much attention. There, as elsewhere, they guarded not only the first door, but all the doors giving access to the king's lodgings.<sup>3</sup>

After a short stay in Rome, Charles marched rapidly on Naples, which he entered in triumph. Alarmed by so rapid a conquest, the Emperor Maximilian, his Catholic Majesty, and the Republic of Venice, entered into an alliance in order to expel the French from Italy.

Hearing that his communications with France were threatened, Charles VIII. retreated with 10,000 soldiers eight days after he had entered Naples, leaving Gilbert de Montpensier in command of 11,000, having under him Stewart of Aubigny as lieutenant. It took the king five days to reach the pass of Pontremoli, leading over the Apennines. On reaching the summit of the pass, the French perceived an army of 40,000 Milanese and Venetians encamped near the village of Fornovo.

Owing to the pertinacious refusal of the Venetian *proveditori*

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires de Fleuranges, p. 161 (Coll. Petitot).

<sup>2</sup> Passero, Giornali, etc., p. 71. Quoted by M. Francisque-Michel, Les Ecosais en France.

<sup>3</sup> Delle Istorie del suo tempo . . . di . . . Paolo Giovio, prima parte, lib. i. In Venetia, MDLXV.

to listen to terms, Charles was compelled to give battle. "I had not been with the king a quarter of an hour," says an eye-witness, "before the enemy advanced within a hundred paces from his majesty. His rearguard was posted on the right a little behind him. The battalion nearest to him on that side was the troop of the Duke of Orleans, consisting of some eighty lances, commanded by Robert de Framezelles, about forty more led by Monsieur de la Trémouille, and the 100 Scots Guards, who kept as close together as if they had been men-at-arms. I was on the left with the gentlemen of the *vingt écus*,<sup>1</sup> and others of the king's household.

"About a quarter of an hour after my arrival, the enemy having advanced thus far, galloped forward with levelled lances in two columns, and charged on our two squadrons on their right, and the Scots Guards. Our men met the charge half-way, and the king behaved himself as beseemed his rank. At this moment our left wing, where I was posted, fell on them in flank to their sore discomfiture, and indeed never was braver charge on either side. But God assisted us, for no sooner had the enemy charged us when their Italian men-at-arms fled, and the greatest part of their infantry gave ground also. A great number of grooms and servants in charge of our baggage waggons flocked round the dismounted Italians with their hatchets, and clove their helmets, otherwise they could not easily have killed them owing to the excellence of their armour. It is true there were three or four to one man-at-arms, while the long swords that our archers and squires wore did great execution. The king, constantly attended by seven or eight young noblemen, who had received orders to that effect, remained on the field, declaring that he would neither follow the chase nor join the vanguard, which was some distance off. He had rather a narrow escape at the first onset, for the bastard of Bourbon was taken prisoner within twenty paces of the spot where the king stood. Nine of the Scots Guards lost their lives."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Part of the king's guard who received 20 crowns a month, whence the name.

<sup>2</sup> The Memoirs of Phil. de Commynes, translated by Andrew Scoble, vol. ii., p. 212. Lond., 1856, 2 vols.

On the 8th of July, an hour before daybreak, Charles VIII. mounted his horse, and ordered his troops to continue their march. On his way to France he received disastrous tidings of his forces. Victorious at Fornovo, the French arms had met with reverses in Liguria and in the kingdom of Naples. Reggio, an important stronghold, was stormed by the Spaniards, and the Scotch commander, a very worthy man, was hewed in pieces, and all his men hanged.<sup>1</sup> At the head of his Scots men-at-arms, Stewart of Aubigny had gained a brilliant victory at Seminara over the Spanish army commanded by Gonzalvo de Cordova, but attacked by fever he was unable to follow up his success. For a whole year, although suffering from illness, and destitute of money and supplies, he defended Calabria against Gonzalvo, but at length finding himself outnumbered by the enemy and forsaken by his sovereign, he signed in August a capitulation allowing him to return to France with the remnant of his troops.<sup>2</sup>

On his arrival in France, Bernard Stewart was rewarded with the collar of the Order of St Michel. With regard to the archers under his command, we seem to be justified in supposing that twenty-two had fallen in Italy, for we find that in disbursing the sum requisite for the re-equipment of the Scots Guards, he is charged for the embroidery of seventy-eight instead of a hundred uniforms.<sup>3</sup>

What had been the result of that Italian expedition, the auspicious commencement of which had kindled such eager hopes? It had brought about the destruction of a noble army, the ruin of the French finances. In his twenty-ninth year Charles was planning wise reforms, when they were abruptly cut short by his death. The melancholy event excited general sorrow and consternation, for he was so kind-hearted, says Commynes, that it would be impossible to find a better man. The national regrets were largely felt by the Scots Guards

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires de Guillaume de Villeneuve, Panthéon Littéraire, p. 280, col. 2, ann. 1495.

<sup>2</sup> Guicciardini, liv. III., cap. iii., p. 420. Storia d'Italia, Parigi, 1832.

<sup>3</sup> Catal. Joursanvault, vol. i., p. 102, No. 647.











who had saved the king's life at Fornovo. An archer and a butler actually died of grief.<sup>1</sup>

The fact related by several French historians is also mentioned by the Venetian envoy, Jérôme Lippomano, in the official report of his embassy: "At the funeral of Charles VIII., when the grand-master of the royal household solemnly informed the officers of the court that their master had ceased to live, an archer and a butler died of sorrow on the spot, attesting the sincerity of their affection for their sovereign. In fact it is not surprising that the Kings of France should be endeared to their subjects and dependants, owing to the kind treatment they experience from their sovereign."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dolore nimio pressi præmatura mors rapuit* (Registres du Parlement, Dutillet, p. 248, in fol.).

<sup>2</sup> Report of 1577.

## CHAPTER VII.

LOUIS XII.—THE ITALIAN WARS—DEATH OF BERNARD STEWART—MARSHAL  
ROBERT STEWART, LORD OF AUBIGNY.

By assuming on his coronation day the title of King of France, King of the two Sicilies and of Jerusalem, and Duke of Milan, Louis XII. showed that he had inherited the claims of his predecessor. In September 1499 he invaded Lombardy with an army of 20,000 soldiers, half of which was placed under the orders of Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, who, assisted by his brother John Stewart, *Seigneur d'Auzon*, his nephew Robert Stewart, and Cuthbert Carr, Lord of St Quentin, continued to serve France as zealously as the brave, honourable, and prudent knight had done since the reign of Charles VIII.<sup>1</sup> In twenty days all Lombardy and the city of Genoa were conquered. But Louis XII. wished to have Naples, and Bernard Stewart was ordered to invade that kingdom. His principal strength, says Paulus Jovius,<sup>2</sup> consisted in his men-at-arms, the mainstay of which lay in a wing of trusty Scotch soldiers. He encountered and attacked the Spaniards at Terra Nuova. After a fierce and sanguinary conflict, says the Italian historian, the Spanish and Sicilian cavalry, unable to resist the Scotch men-at-arms, were defeated. Unfortunately the invading force was reduced to the greatest straits, owing to the rapacity of the army contractors, who in order to fill their pockets, says a contemporary writer, withheld supplies, and left the soldiers to starve. The king hanged a treasurer and a contractor, but neglected to succour Stewart.<sup>3</sup> Having

<sup>1</sup> Commynes, Book viii., ch. i. Cf. Book vii., ch. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Delle Istorie del suo tempo . . . di . . . Paolo Giovio, prima parte, libro ottavo, p. 117. In Venetia, MDLXV.

<sup>3</sup> Mémoires de la Trémouille, ch. xi., p. 167; Collection Petitot.

received large reinforcements, the Spaniards advanced against their antagonist, and the hostile forces met on Friday, the 21st of April, 1503, between Gioia and Seminara. "Seeing that the critical moment had arrived, my lord Stewart of Aubigny set his men in battle array. The French vanguard<sup>1</sup> was commanded by Adrien de Brimeu. No braver knight ever set lance in rest, but his valour savoured more of the paladin than of the strategist. In vain did Stewart endeavour to restrain the chevalier's impetuosity by mild and judicious representations. The moment the Spaniards had taken up their position the French rushed upon them. So rude was the encounter, such a breach did they make, says Ives de Malherbe, who commanded the infantry, that one could see daylight through the hostile column. Cavalry and infantry were overthrown by the violence of the shock, and he avers that he saw the horses' hoofs in the air. Meanwhile Stewart brought up the rearguard, composed partly of Italians, who broke and fled to Gioia. Outnumbered and overwhelmed, the Scots refused to yield or fly; 306 men-at-arms and 60 archers met their death on that well-fought field. Who shall chronicle higher fidelity than that of their standard-bearer, Gilbert Turnbull, whose arms stiffen in death as they grasp the lance with unfaltering loyalty, while he seizes the much-loved banner with his teeth as he lies cold and motionless, with six clansmen extended lifeless beside him. Well are those worthy of praise who love rather to die for honour's sake than to live in shame marked with the brand of cowardice. The rest were found stretched out, one here, one there, with their horses dead under them; if a Scotch corpse was discovered on one side, one or two Spaniards were found dead on the other; thus, although they formed part of the loss, victory remained with them. It was in vain that Stewart of Aubigny, almost bereft of his reason by this sudden and disastrous rout, exhausted threats and entreaties in his endeavours to rally the French fugitives; they did not recognise him, and remained deaf to his expostulations. None remained on the field except some wounded captains, who endeavoured, at first unsuccessfully, to persuade him to accompany them. "No," cried the

<sup>1</sup> It contained 60 Scottish men-at-arms.

despairing veteran, "rather let me die by the hands of the enemy than return to my friends like a vanquished fugitive." At length, however, they succeeded in persuading him to retire to the citadel of Angistola. The Spaniards dishonoured their victory by their cruelty towards their prisoners, who were staked at the hazard table, and for the most part reduced to the condition of galley-slaves. It is said that when a young Scot named Barton (or Burton) was claimed by several gamblers, the lawless troopers grew so exasperated that they cut their prisoner in pieces, and each took a fragment of the mangled corpse and carried it away with him."<sup>1</sup>

Following up his victory, Gonsalvo laid siege to the castle of Angistola; and after a siege of thirty days, having exhausted his provisions and ammunition, Stewart was compelled to capitulate. In the month of January, 1504, he returned to France, and was sent by Louis XII. as ambassador to Scotland, where he was most graciously received by King James IV. After so many sacrifices of soldiers and money, the French no longer possessed an inch of ground in Italy; when the Emperor Maximilian, watching his opportunity, stirred up the Genoese to revolt, and part of the French garrison were put to the sword. On hearing this, Louis XII. levied a magnificent army of 50,000 men. But for the honourable scars that marked the faces of the veteran captains and rising officers, the calamitous defeats of Cerignola and Seminara seemed to have left no traces in those serried ranks. All the great families of France, ambitious of acquiring military renown, had eagerly responded to the call of their sovereign. John Stewart, Duke of Albany, who had brought Louis reinforcements from James IV., was present at the siege of Genoa in 1507, and preceded the king when he entered that city on the 28th of April, sword in hand, and accompanied by his household troops.<sup>2</sup> Close to the king, carrying their halberds and richly accoutred, marched twenty-four Scots Guards; in the midst of them rode his majesty, mounted on an excellent black mule, followed by the 400 archers of

<sup>1</sup> *Chronique de Jean d'Auton*, vol. ii., p. 310, etc. Paris, 1835, 4 vols. in 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 6; *Le Cérémonial François*, vol. i., p. 715, in fol.











the guard on horseback, their bows ready for action, wearing helmets and coats of mail.<sup>1</sup> Sentencing to the gallows the ringleaders of the revolt and the doge elected during the insurrection, and placing a French garrison in a fortress built at the entrance of the port, the king went to Milan, where he was joyfully welcomed by a hundred Scots men-at-arms, commanded by Robert Stewart, lieutenant of my lord Stewart of Auzon.

“ Lors Escossois en toute la cohorte  
Des garnisons armez vont à leur porte  
Pour recepvoir  
Leur Prince et Roy que tant désiroient veoir.”<sup>2</sup>

During his stay at Milan, Louis XII. was seldom out of the lists or the banqueting hall. It seemed as though the young nobles who had taken little or no part in the skirmishes before Genoa desired to make amends for the brief duration of military operations by their prowess in tilt and tournament, and Dauphin king-at-arms lost no time in proclaiming the articles of a passage-at-arms in honour of Louis XII., who presided in the lists for ten whole days.

The tournament was followed by a military pageant. The grand master, Charles d'Amboise, had caused to be erected outside the city a castle, surrounded by a moat and palisade, with two towers, each capable of containing thirty combatants. The fortress was defended by the grand master, Charles d'Amboise, and 100 men-at-arms belonging to the royal household troops, armed with padded staves, swords with blunted points, and large pitchforks, destined to repel the assailants; their artillery was composed of squirts and cannon loaded with paper pellets. The storming force, numbering more than 600 combatants, commanded by Louis de Brézé, captain of the 100 gentlemen pensioners, and Robert Stewart, captain of the 100 Scots Guards, approached the walls with bridges and ladders.

<sup>1</sup> “The 100 Scots Guards were commanded by Sir George Cockburn” (Chronique de Jean d'Auton, vol. ii., p. 218).

<sup>2</sup> Poesies de Jean Marot, Œuvres de Clément Marot, La Haye, vol. iv., p. 191 (1731, in 4to).

On the signal being given, besiegers and besieged fell to work with such hearty goodwill that the staves were soon broken or cut to pieces, the ditch was levelled, and the ladders were brought forward, while the besieged rained down heavy blows and torrents of water. Many of the assailants received wounds in the face, and both sides were growing warm, on which the king ordered that a truce should be proclaimed. The second assault proved a more serious affair. A bridge on wheels was pushed forward, on which twenty men-at-arms exchanged blows with the besieged, who made a stout fight with poles and maces, till at last half of the bridge gave way under the load, and two Scotch champions remained suspended in mid air. Though overwhelmed by superior numbers, these sturdy gallants would not stir an inch in spite of the heavy blows showered on them by the defenders of the castle: when stunned by the hard knocks they received, they lay down for a moment on the edge of the bridge to recover their breath, and then fell to work again with renewed vigour. At last one of them had his skull fractured, and though borne away alive, he died on the night following. On seeing this, the assailants returned to the attack more eagerly than ever, and a Scot avenged his countryman by knocking down one of the besieged who had lost his helmet. What had been a pastime was fast becoming a serious affray. The king had to interpose unarmed between the contending forces, and it was with great difficulty that he succeeded in putting a stop to the conflict.<sup>1</sup>

Impatient to return to France, Louis XII. recrossed the Alps in June, after leaving Alexander Stewart, Lord of St Quentin, with 200 Scots and as many French in charge of the Castle of La Rocca at Milan.<sup>2</sup>

No doubt with a view of engaging James IV. as his ally against Venice, Louis despatched Marshal Stewart of Aubigny with a train of 80 horse on an embassy to the Scottish court,<sup>3</sup> influenced by the

<sup>1</sup> *Chronique de Jean d'Auton*, vol. iv., p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Belleforêt*, p. 1349; *De Chambre, Abrégé des Histoires*, fol. 201, recto; *Rob. Gaguin, Chronique de France*, vol. xx., p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> *Drummond of Hawthornden*; *Leslie, De Rebus gestis Scotorum*, lib. viii., p. 333.

suggestion of James,<sup>1</sup> who was not only attached to the Marshal by reason of his birth, but entertained a high respect for his renown in arms. He was treated with the greatest distinction, tournaments were given to celebrate his coming, and a contemporary bard wrote a poem to welcome his arrival.<sup>2</sup> It was his third and last embassy as representative of the King of France in Scotland. In an infirm state of health when he landed, the aged warrior had only returned to his native country to lay his bones there, and, worn out by a long series of campaigns, he died in the house of his friend, Sir — Forester, at Corstorphine, near Edinburgh, in the beginning of June, 1508, after directing, in fulfilment of a vow made during his arduous Neapolitan expedition, that his heart should be sent to the shrine of St Ninian in Galloway.<sup>3</sup> According to Andrew Stuart, his body was interred in the church of Corstorphine, where a monument was erected to his memory with a figure representing him in armour.<sup>4</sup> But, as Wood observes, it would appear that he was buried in the church of the Blackfriars in Edinburgh, his last will being to this effect :

“ . . . I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints, and my body to be buried in the church of Blackfriars in Edinburgh. Likewise, I bequeath, on the day of my burial, to the poor, other pious works, and to the said friars £1400. The residue of my effects I place at the discretion of my executors, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, and John de Aytoun, that they may dispose of the same for me and the welfare of my soul, as they shall answer before the Supreme Judge in the day of judgment.”<sup>5</sup>

Dunbar, the poet who welcomed his arrival in his native land, wrote an elegy on his death ; and Brantôme informs us that he was known as “ *The Chevalier sans reproche*.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Epist. Jacobi IV., etc., p. 76, No. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Welcum to Bernard Stewart, in the Poems of William Dunbar, vol. i., p. 129, and vol. ii., p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Leslie, History of Scotland, Ban. ed., p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> A. Stewart, History of the Stewarts, p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> Historical MSS., Third Report, p. 392 ; Douglas's Peerage, edited by Wood, vol. ii., p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Œuvres de Brantôme, edited by Buchon, vol. i., p. 201. “There is in the National Library in Paris a monument of his military science : ‘Livret et traicté pour entendre quel

While Bernard Stewart was lying ill at Corstorphine, the Venetians had invaded Lombardy, and Louis XII. was crossing the Alps with an army of 20,000 foot soldiers and 10,000 horse. The vanguard, including the 100 Scots Guards, was commanded by Robert Stewart of Aubigny. At the battle of Agnadel, at the head of his guards, Louis braved the fire of the enemy as recklessly as if he had been a mere hireling, offering to shelter any one who felt afraid. "No true king of France," said he, "is killed by a cannon ball." After gaining a brilliant victory he returned home, appointing Robert Stewart governor of the castle and territory of Brescia. Profiting by the departure of the French army, the Venetians laid siege to Brescia.<sup>1</sup>

"It is the finest fortified town I ever saw," says Marshal de Fleurange in his Memoirs—"impregnable, I should say, considering the valour of the garrison and the skill of their commander. However, in process of time, what with famine and disease, the defenders were constrained to capitulate, on such honourable terms that the lancers and men-at-arms were allowed to retain their weapons and return to France, after a great many men had died of hospital fever."<sup>2</sup>

On his return to France, Robert Stewart was raised to the dignity of Marshal, and in September, 1513, we are informed that in consequence of the representation of the said Robert Stewart of Aubigny, captain of the Scots Guards, the king issued a memorable decree: "Considering the great services rendered to France by Scotland, principally against England, he exempted in future Scots denizens from having to apply for special letters of naturalisation, and granted them generally the right of devising property, of inheriting, and of holding benefices, as if they were Frenchmen."<sup>3</sup>

*ordre et train ung prince ou chef de guerre doit tenir pour conquerir ung pays ou passer ou traverser le pays des ennemis, composé par Messire Berault Stuart et par Maistre Estienne Le Jeune, natif d'Aubigny, son secrétaire et chappellain ordinaire'* (16th century, Velum MS., No. 20,003—S. Germain).

<sup>1</sup> *Batailles Mémorables des Français*, p. 351 (1701, ed. in 12mo).

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires of Mal. de Fleurange*, Coll. Petitot, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Teulet, *Inventaire Chronol.*, etc., pp. 57, 58; *Lettres Historiques*, etc., pp. 257-268; Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice*, vol. ii., p. 86.



In conferring these favours on foreigners, Louis XII. was less actuated by a desire to reward past services than to secure future assistance. A similar motive induced Anne of Brittany, well aware of the chivalrous disposition of the Scotch monarch, to further the representations of Monsieur de la Motte, the French ambassador, by addressing to James IV. an autograph letter full of the most endearing appellations, entreating him, in consideration of what she had suffered in defending his honour, to extend to her his royal protection by levying an army and advancing three paces on English ground. The letter was accompanied by the gift of a ring worn by the writer, and 15,000 French crowns.<sup>1</sup>

Moved by her letter, James IV. granted Anne's request; and on the 16th of June, 1513, declared war against Henry VIII.; on the 22d of August he crossed the frontier, and on the 9th September he fought the battle of Flodden. De la Motte, present on the field of battle with several French officers, in vain endeavoured to arrest the headlong impetuosity of the Highlanders, as they made repeated and fruitless attempts to break through the forest of English spears. He fell at Flodden with the flower of the Scotch nobility. As if she had been unable to survive her chosen knight, Anne of Brittany died soon afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

Louis had also obtained that a Scottish fleet should join the French vessels at Brest, proceed from thence to Honfleur, where the officers were to receive three months' pay and complete their stores and equipments, and then commence operations. The fleet comprised thirteen large and ten smaller vessels, besides an English ship recently captured at Lynn, the "Great Michael," a galley of thirty oars, and two other vessels, the "Margaret" and the "James." On board the fleet were 3000 soldiers, commanded by the Earl of Arran. Under his

<sup>1</sup> R. Lindesay of Pittscottie, *The History of Scotland*, p. 110 (1728, in fol.); Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticar. Hist.*, etc., lib. xiii., fol. 149, recto (1582, in fol.); Pinkerton, *The History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 87, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Drummond of Hawthornden, *The History of Scotland*, etc., p. 232 (Lond., 1681, in 8vo); Francisque-Michel, *Les Ecosais en France*, vol. i., p. 318.

orders we remark Squire Meldrum, a cadet of good family, whose gallant exploits are related from his own recital by his friend and contemporary, Sir David Lindsay.

“The fleet having reached the shores of Brittany the army was disembarked, and the squire entrusted with the command of five hundred men. Harry VIII. of England,” pursues the history, “was at that time lying with his army at Calais, making war on the realm of France; and although there was no pitched battle, yet daily skirmishing took place between the hosts, for the King of France with his great army was encamped near hand in Picardy. Squire Meldrum, hearing of this, immediately chose a hundred spears, the best men in his company, and riding to the French quarters was courteously received by the king.” It chanced that at this moment there was amongst the English a hardy and excellent soldier, named in the story Maister Talbart, probably Talbot, who used to stalk about with “silver tokens of war” in his bonnet, speaking somewhat lightly of the French, and proclaiming that, for his lady’s sake, he was ready to break his spear with any man who would accept his challenge. His defiance had not been answered previous to Meldrum’s arrival in the camp. Talbart next addresses the Scots, and the young squire without a moment’s hesitation takes up his gage—

“And when the Squyer Meldrum  
Heard tell this campioun was come,  
Richt hastily he past him still,  
Demanding him what was his will?  
Forsooth, ‘I can find none,’ quoth he,  
‘On horse or foot dare fecht me.’  
‘Then,’ said he, ‘it were great shame  
Without battle ye should pass hame,  
Therefore to God I make a vow  
The morn myself shall fight with you.’

“Talbot, an experienced champion, with an iron frame, and great skill in his weapons, dissuades the young adventurer from a contest in which he represents him as certain to lose his life. Meldrum, however,

derides his assurance, and assures him that, with the assistance of God, he trusts to tame his pride—

“ I trust that God shall be my guide,  
And give me grace to stanch thy pride,  
Tho' thou wert great as Gow Mak Morne.<sup>1</sup>

“ The Englishman now returns to his brethren in the camp, and informs them of the combat which he is to have on the morrow with a young Scot, whose pride he means to take down.

“ He showed his brethren of his land  
How ane young Scot had ta'en on hand  
To fecht with him beside Montreuil,  
' Bot I trust he shall prufe the fuil.'  
Quoth they, ' The morn that sall we ken,  
The Scots are haldin hardie men.'

“ When,” continues Lindsay, “ it was reported to Monsieur d'Aubigny that the squire had taken on hand to fight with Talbart, he greatly commended his courage, and, requesting his presence in his tent, interrogated him upon the subject. Meldrum then modestly acknowledged that he had for the honour of Scotland undertaken that battle; adding, that were he as well horsed as he was armed, he had little doubt of the victory. Upon this D'Aubigny sent through the host, and, collecting a hundred horse, bade the squire select the steed which pleased him best. He did so accordingly, and lightly leaping on his back, pushed him to his speed, and checking him in his career, declared that no horse in the world could run more pleasantly. The youthful warrior sets out for the combat all armed except the head, with his helmet borne before him by his squire—

“ He took his leave, and went to rest,  
Then early in the morn him drest  
Wantonly in his warlike weed.  
All bravely armed, except the heid,

<sup>1</sup> Gaul, the son of Morni.

He leapt upon his courser good,  
 And proudly in his stirrups stood.  
 His spear and shield and helm was borne  
 By squyers that rode him beforne ;  
 A velvet cap on head he bare,  
 A coif of gold confined his hair.

The squyer bore into his shield  
 An otter in a silver field.<sup>1</sup>  
 His horse was barded full richlie,  
 Covered with satin cramosie.  
 Then forward rode this campioun  
 With sound of trumpet and clarioun,  
 And speedilie spurrit o'er the bent,  
 Like Mars, the god armipotent.

“Talbart, in the meantime, is greatly disturbed by a dream, in which he sees a great black otter rise from the sea and fiercely attack him, pulling him down from his horse. He relates the vision to his friends, who ridicule his consternation ; and, ashamed of his weakness, he arms himself at all points, and mounting his horse, proceeds to the lists.

“Then clariouns and trumpets blew,  
 And weiriours <sup>2</sup> mony hither drew ;  
 On every side come monie man,  
 To behald wha the battel wan.  
 The field was in a meadow green,  
 Where every man micht weill be seen.  
 The heralds put them sa in order,  
 That na man past within the border,  
 Nor pressit to come within the green,  
 Bot heralds and the campious keen.  
 The order and the circumstance  
 Were lang to put in remembrance.  
 When thir twa nobill men of weir  
 Were weill accouterit in their geir,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The arms of Meldrum in Sir David Lindsay's Heraldry, p. 111, are argent, demi-otter issuing out of a bar-waved sable.

<sup>2</sup> Warriors.

<sup>3</sup> Warlike habilimenta.











And in their handis strang bourdounes,<sup>1</sup>  
 Then trumpets blew, and clariounis ;  
 And heraldis cryit, 'hie on hicht,  
 Now let them go—God shaw the richt !'  
 Then speedily they spurrit their horse,  
 And ran to uther<sup>2</sup> with sic force,  
 That baith their spears in sindrie flaw."<sup>3</sup>

After an obstinate contest Talbart's dream is realised: he is vanquished and thrown to the earth with such force that his companions believe him dead. "Then it was," says the legend, "that the squire leaped lightly from his horse, and taking the wounded knight in his arms, courteously supported and comforted him; but when he looked up and saw his shield with the device of an otter upon a silver field, "Ah," said he, "now hath my dream proved true: yours is the otter that hath caused me to bleed; but never shall I joust again. Here, therefore, according to our agreement, I yield to thee both horse and harness."

"Then said the squire most courteously,  
 'I thank you, brother, heartily;  
 But nothing from thee must I take,—  
 I fight for love and honour's sake;  
 Who covets more is but a churl,  
 Be he a belted knight or earl.'

"Delighted with these noble sentiments, the captain of the English takes Meldrum by the hand and leads him into the pavilion, where he is served with a sumptuous collation, and highly commended by all for his valour and generosity. Meanwhile Talbart's wounds are dressed; and the squire, before taking his leave, embraces him with tenderness, and bids him be of good cheer, for this was but the chance of arms. He then mounts his horse, and returns to his own camp, where he is received with much honour."

From Picardy the squire proceeded to Normandy, as the navy of Scotland was still lying on that coast; and finding little opportunity

<sup>1</sup> Strong spears.<sup>2</sup> Against each other.<sup>3</sup> Flew asunder.

of gaining distinction, he puts himself at the head of a company of 160 men-at-arms,—

“ Enarmed well, like men of weir,  
With hackbut, culvering, pike, and spear,”<sup>1</sup>

and returned to Amiens, where Louis of France was then encamped. As the war had terminated, however, he found no military employment; and although much courted in France, and “asked in marriage by a lady of great possessions,” youth made him so “light-headed” that he did not choose to wed; and having fitted out a ship for himself and his soldiers, well furnished with “artillery, bow, and speir,” besides the best wine that he could select, he set sail from Dieppe for Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

It does not appear that the troops under the command of the Earl of Arran acted with the French at the battle of Spurs. As for the squadron, after a disastrous cruise on the coast of Ireland, its subsequent operations are involved in obscurity. We learn, however, that but few vessels returned to Scotland, and those in an unseaworthy condition.

Louis XII. died on the 1st of January, 1515, as he was preparing to invade Italy. Before his death he made Marshal Stewart of Aubigny and John Stewart his lieutenant swear on the Gospel that they would execute his last will. Stewart swore that he and his 100 archers would execute the promise he had made, or lose their lives.<sup>3</sup>

Claude Seyssel, one of the great dignitaries of the court of Louis XII., has left a valuable testimony of the esteem in which the Scots

<sup>1</sup> The *Historie of Squyer Meldrum—the Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay, etc.*, vol. ii., p. 254. Lond. 1806, in 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler, *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, vol. iii., p. 267, sqq. Tytler expresses his “conviction that in all essential particulars the history is real, and that it presents an accurate picture of the manners and principles of the age, although richly coloured, and given with that freshness and spirit which most matters of fact receive when they pass through the mind of a man of genius.”

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliothèque Nationale MS.*, fond. français, 2831, Nos. 42, 43, fols. 89, 90; *MS. Dupuy*, No. 84; *Lacroix, Histoire de Louis XII.*, vol. iii., p. 110.

Guards were held : “ For so long a time as they have served in France, never hath there been one of them found that hath committed any fault against the kings or their state, and they can make use of them as of their own subjects.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de Louis XII.*, par Messire Claude de Seyssel, pp. 141, 142. Paris, 1615, in 4to.

## CHAPTER VIII.

FRANCIS I.—1515-1547.

IN accordance with the Salic law, on the death of Louis XII. without male issue, the crown reverted to his cousin, Francis, Duke of Angoulême, then in his twenty-first year. Attractive in person, of a chivalrous and romantic disposition, Francis I. was talented and courageous, and his generosity contrasted strongly with the parsimonious habits of his predecessor.

In the account of his entry into Paris in 1514 after his coronation, the chronicler, after describing the twenty-four archers of the Scotch lifeguard, armed with halberts, and arrayed in white cloth jerkins with gold borders, white hose, and plumed helmets, mentions their captain, my Lord Robert Stewart of Aubigny,<sup>1</sup> accoutred in a white cloth doublet adorned in front and behind with a crowned salamander. A few days afterwards Stewart was created one of the four marshals of France, who from that day were called "*Cousins du Roi*." At the same time Francis I. levied another company of archers, and placed it under the orders of Raoul de Vernor, Lord of Montreuil-Bonyn,<sup>2</sup> a descendant of one of the first Scots Guards.

Close to the king's person and in high favour at court, we remark Peter and James Cunningham, Lord of Cangé, James Stewart, Earl of Murray, page of honour,<sup>3</sup> and Robert Cockburn, royal almoner. Besides the gentlemen of the Scots Guards, we find serving in the royal house-

<sup>1</sup> Robert Stewart d'Aubigny, "Homme fidèle aux Français suivant le naturel des Escossois." *Catalogue des illustres maréchaux de France*, p. 1555.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. ii., p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> In 1516, 1517, and 1518.

hold troops Matthew, Earl of Lennox, Alexander Stewart, Duke of Albany, Armand Claude Gordon, Adrian and Philip Vernor, Bernard and Francis Stewart of Aubigny,<sup>1</sup> all of whom were shortly afterwards summoned to take part in the ensuing Italian campaign, and fought by the side of the king.

On the 10th of August, 1515, the French army, so carefully prepared by Louis XII., began their march towards Italy. The Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain placed great confidence in an army of 20,000 Swiss, commanded by Prosper Colonna, occupying Mount Cenis and Mount Genevra, the only passes, they thought, by which the French could invade Italy. Robert Stewart and Bayard, guided by shepherds and chamois-hunters, and leading their forces by steep mountain paths, surprised and captured Prosper Colonna at Villa Franca. The Swiss fell back, pursued by the French, who overtook them at Marignano on the 13th of September. Except a few hours interval during the night, the battle lasted till two o'clock in the afternoon of the day following. John Stewart, Seigneur de la Mothe, was killed; James Montgomery, Seigneur de Lorges, the Duke of Albany, and Robert Stewart of Aubigny maintained the reputation of the Scottish arms.<sup>2</sup> The news of the victory caused great joy in Edinburgh, where the governor ordered bonfires to be lighted and cannon to be fired to celebrate the French victories in Lombardy.<sup>3</sup>

The Emperor Maximilian I. having died in the beginning of 1519, the prospect of succeeding to the imperial throne tempted Francis I. Nevertheless Charles, King of Spain, declared his intention of claiming the whole inheritance of the house of Austria. At a grand tourna-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Gaignières 2890, "Roole et Estat des officiers de la maison du Roy François Premier." MS. 7853 f.f.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel, *Histoire de France*, vol. ix., p. 31, sq. Joachim du Bellay was so impressed by their exploits, that he promised he would give a "world of celebrity to the renown of the Scots Guards"—*Œuvres Françaises*, etc., Rouen, 1579, in 12 folio, 269 and 352, quoted by M. Francisque-Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, vol. i., p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., p. 1, p. 252.

ment given at Valladolid, the young king entered the lists bearing on his shield the motto "*nondum*," and broke three lances. The death of Maximilian disclosed the boundless ambition of the royal politician, who was about to adopt as his cognizance "*Ultra metas*." "I am determined to abide by the consequences," said he to the ambassadors whom he sent to bargain with the electors. "I would give three millions to be emperor," exclaimed Francis. Henry VIII., King of England, saw his importance as umpire; he adopted as an emblem an archer drawing a bow, with the motto, "My candidate wins the day."

Anxious to secure the friendship of Henry, Francis invited him to a rendezvous between Ardres and Guines, at which the courtiers of both realms displayed such magnificence that the trysting place was known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Notwithstanding the splendour of the pageant, Henry allied himself with Charles, King of Spain, who was proclaimed emperor, declared war against France, and haughtily insisted that the Scots should join him. The Scots were not to be awed by threats, and in a short time an army of 80,000 men was ready to assert their independence.

Nothing very material was done. Henry was no great warrior, and Francis was more intent on prosecuting a war in Italy with the emperor Charles V. than on making any attack on England. Evil days were coming to Francis: the great battle of Pavia was fought, and Francis was taken prisoner by Charles V. Though historians of the French household troops have stated that Francis I. was not taken prisoner till the Scots Guards had been all cut to pieces, the statement is incompatible with the evidence of the Muster Rolls from 1524 to 1526.<sup>1</sup> Unquestionably the Scots fought bravely; many, no doubt, were wounded, but few of the Scots Guards were killed. We

<sup>1</sup> See Muster Rolls from 1524 to 1526. Prior to the battle of Pavia in 1521, the lightning fell on the clock-tower of the Castle of Milan, and wrought, people said, more damage than the French artillery would have done in a month. Part of the clock was subsequently found at the distance of a mile from the city. It is said that 150 persons lost their lives on that occasion, among others 14 Scotch archers (*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, sous François I<sup>er</sup>*, p. 134—Paris, 1854, in 8vo; *Mémoires de Du Bellay*, p. 149).

know, moreover, that Francis ordered Robert Stewart's company of men-at-arms to follow him, and that they were outnumbered and surrounded by the enemy, against whom their heroic exertions were unavailing. We have not been able to discover the rolls of that company, but from first to last that chosen body abundantly verified the eulogy of the French king in his reply to Charles V. requesting him to lend him a sum of money and his men-at-arms to fight the Turks: "With regard to the first point, I am not a banker; as for the second, as my company of men-at-arms is the arm that bears my sceptre, I never expose it to danger when it does not accompany me to glory."<sup>1</sup>

One of the officers, Armand Claude Gordon, died as he was returning to Scotland of the wounds he had received at Pavia.<sup>2</sup> Robert Stewart, who had been taken prisoner,<sup>3</sup> took his revenge in Navarre and Provence, where he held a command against the troops of the emperor Charles V. After a campaign of two months, Charles having lost one-half of his army and the name he had of being invincible, fell back on Genoa, where he embarked his troops and returned to Spain.

In 1543 the Scots men-at-arms distinguished themselves at Landrecies, unsuccessfully besieged by Charles V.; and in 1544, led by the Duke of Enghien, they twice broke the Spanish ranks, and contributed largely to win the battle of Cerisolla, the last victory of Francis I., who died on the 31st of March, 1547, after signing with Henry VIII. the peace of Ardres, including Scotland.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, vol. i., p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> A concise History of the ancient and illustrious House of Gordon, by C. A. Gordon, p. 302 (Aberdeen, 1754, in 12mo). Alexander Stewart, Duke of Albany, accompanied his friend, Francis I., in his unfortunate raid into Italy, but was not present at the battle of Pavia, being then in command of a detachment sent against Naples (*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 223).

<sup>3</sup> Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité du Roi François I<sup>er</sup>*, pp. 85, 86. Paris, 1847, in 4to.

<sup>4</sup> *Mémoires de Du Bellay*, vol. iii., p. 414.

## CHAPTER IX.

### HENRY II.—1547-1559—DECLINE OF THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

ALMOST the whole of the reign of Henry II. was taken up by three wars, the first with England, and the two others with Charles V. and Philip II.

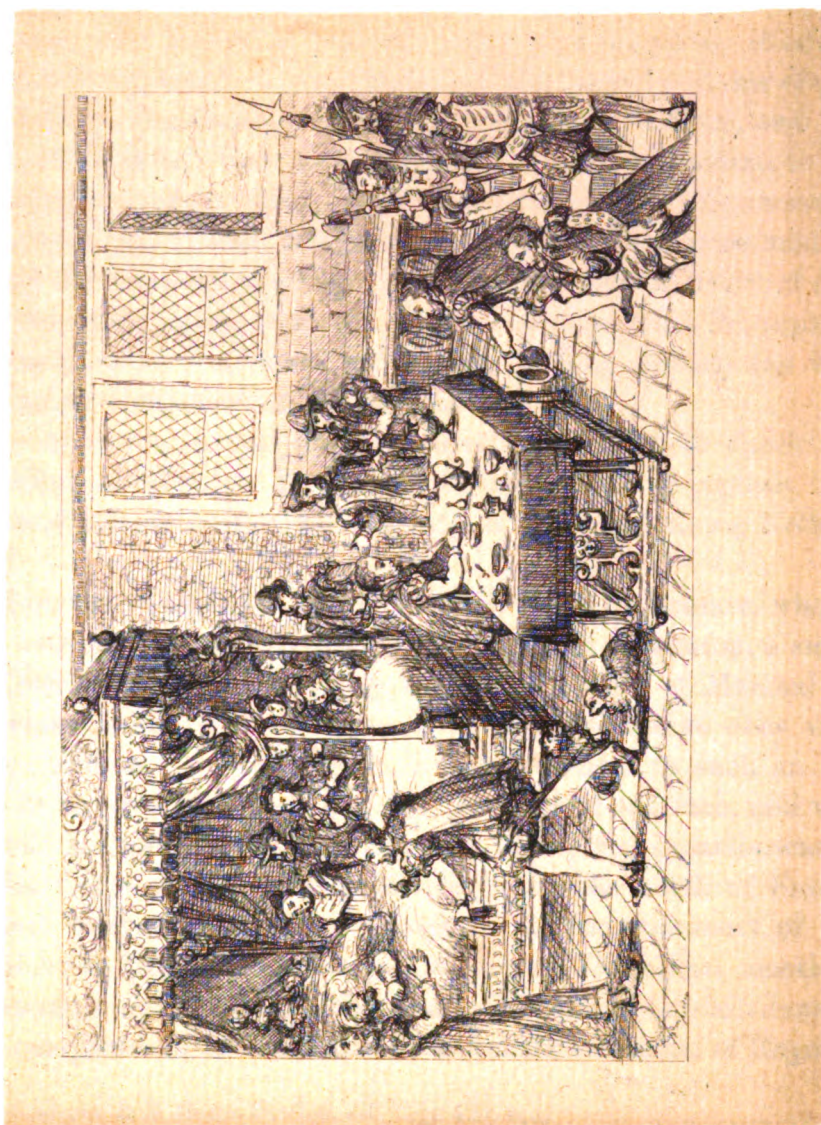
The alliance of Scotland and France sustained a great blow on the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, one of the staunchest supporters of the good understanding between the two countries. Still, the partisans of an alliance with France were more numerous than those who inclined towards England; and when, after the death of Henry VIII., the Duke of Somerset, Regent of England, renewed the proposal of a marriage treaty between Edward VI. and Mary Stewart, he met with a refusal. In 1548 the English invaded Scotland, which strengthened the alliance with France, and on his accession to the throne the Scottish parliament assembled at Stirling offered to Henry II. the protectorate of the realm, and the hand of their young queen for Francis the Dauphin. Henry eagerly accepted the offer, and with a view to gain partisans in Scotland, granted, in November, 1547, most extensive privileges to his Scots Guards. In June, 1548, he sent a large army to Scotland, under the command of Montalembert d'Essé, to assist in expelling the English, with instructions to convey to France Mary Stewart, then six years of age. She landed at Roscoff,<sup>1</sup> where a chapel was erected in commemoration of the circumstance, and subsequently at Morlaix. When a bridge had given way there under the pressure of the crowd, an outcry of treason was raised by the Scots Guards who escorted the Princess. "No Breton was ever guilty of treason,"

<sup>1</sup> In Brittany.











replied John of Rohan, who superintended the preparations for her reception. Mary was taken to St Germain's, where the court was then residing, and was received with paternal kindness by Henry II. The following year Henry, in making peace with England, obtained the inclusion of Scotland in the treaty. Unfortunately all his efforts were directed to the incorporation of Scotland with France, and the Scots refused to merge their nationality and to allow Scotland to become a French province. Moreover, the lawless conduct, the excesses, and violence of the French troops in the country they were sent to defend, and the shameful exactions of the French agents, incensed and alienated the whole nation, and the English derived from the rupture of the time-honoured alliance which had so long united the two countries ample compensation for the loss of Calais.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after the arrival of Mary Stewart, wishing to check the preponderance of Charles V., Henry II. declared war against the Emperor, and attacked him simultaneously in Italy and in the Netherlands.

John Stewart of Aubigny, brother of the Duke of Lennox, who in 1551 was with his company of forty men-at-arms at Aubenton, a small town in Thiérarche,<sup>2</sup> served in Italy under the orders of Marshal de Brissac, whose injunctions, it appears, he did not always obey very punctually; and on one occasion he disregarded them to such an extent that he hazarded his own life and the lives of his men, and was the cause of another Stewart, his son-in-law, falling into an ambuscade.<sup>3</sup> Among the troops acting against Charles V. in the north of France were several companies of Scotch cavalry. In the statement of the troops which the king intended to join in person, Du Villars mentions the men-at-arms commanded by the Earl of Arran and Captain Jamet,<sup>4</sup> and three companies of 100 lancers each under the command of Reyman

<sup>1</sup> Correspondance de la Mothe-Fénélon, vol. i., p. 425, sq. q.

<sup>2</sup> Teulet, Papiers d'État, ed. in 4to, vol. i., pref., fol. ix.; vol. i., p. 703.

<sup>3</sup> Mémoires de Boyvin du Villars, liv. IV., Coll. Petitot, 1st series, vol. xxix., pp. 212, 213.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xxix., p. 216.

Cockburn, John Achisson of Heiltz-le-Maurupt, and John Clavers.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards there figure Scotch bands commanded by Doddes, Cullan, Beaulieu, Dognes, Cunningham, Mons.<sup>2</sup> Captain Hetherington, who commanded 100 light horse, was not a Scotchman, but commanded a band of troopers in Northumberland. A letter of his is still extant, written in English to the Duke of Guise, and dated Newcastle-on-Tyne, 7th of February. "A gentleman of your nation," he writes, "who has lately served in Scotland, having had occasion to travel through England, and having heard my name mentioned, paid me a visit. I was delighted to see him." The captain goes on to say that he had formerly served the King of France as commander of 100 English men-at-arms, and that His Majesty and the Constable had dismissed him, amercing him of five months' pay now due to him. Notwithstanding this grievance, the captain again offers to enter the French service with the same number of Englishmen, solely on account of his love for France; for he has lands and houses where he can live at his ease, and the King and Queen of England have given him an important command with the means of living in a certain style.<sup>3</sup>

The Scotch Light Cavalry is thus described by Rabutin: "Most of them, mounted on small spirited horses, were rather scantily armed, wearing kilts and red bonnets, wielding short pikes that they handle dexterously, brave men."<sup>4</sup> More valiant than fortunate, they were on one occasion defeated by the Emperor.<sup>5</sup>

In 1557 we find Admiral de Coligny, with his company and that of the Earl of Arran and the Scotch light horse troop of Captain Achisson, marching to La Fère in Picardy.<sup>6</sup> About the same time, the

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de Boyvin du Villars*, vol. xxix., p. 217. Reyman Cockburn was one of the Scots Guards in 1569. John Achison was in the guard in 1553 (*Balcarres Papers*, vol. i., p. 71).

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires de Boyvin du Villars*, vol. xxix., p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliothèque Nationale*, MS. Gaignères, 367, 368, fol. 44, 45. Kindly communicated by M. Francisque-Michel.

<sup>4</sup> Rabutin, *Coll. Petitot*, vol. xxxi., p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoires de G. de Saulx*, *Coll. Petitot*, 1st series, vol. xxiv., p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> *Commentaires de F. de Rabutin*, bk. ix., ann. 1557, *Coll. Petitot*, 1st series, vol. xxiv., p. 156.

gallant exploits of two Scotch volunteers serving in the French ranks were much talked of. One of them, named Arche Mowbray, brother to the Laird of Barnbougall, during the siege of Dinan, had sprung, sword in hand, on the crown work of the rampart, and had made good his retreat unscathed.<sup>1</sup> Norman Lesley, Master of Rothés, had done more: at the siege of Renty, with thirty of his countrymen, he had charged sixty mounted musketeers, and had unhorsed five; his lance being then splintered, he rode among them sword in hand, and wounded several of his adversaries without heeding in the least the shots aimed at him. Then, seeing a company of pikemen advance against him, he dismounted, and gave up his horse and spurs to one of his men, who fell dead as he delivered them to the Constable de Montmorency. Covered with wounds, the gallant Norman was borne to the royal tent, where the Prince de Condé and the Duke of Enghien awarded him the palm of valour. He was consigned to the care of the royal surgeons, but their skill was powerless to save his life, and the Master of Rothés died in a fortnight, regretted by all, especially by the Laird of Grange, who returned to the camp the day following from an expedition on which he had been ordered.<sup>2</sup>

After threatening Champagne, Charles V. invested Saint Quentin, which covers Picardy and the valley of the Oise. Admiral de Coligny held possession of the town, which was ill fortified, with 700 men comprising the company of Scots Men-at-arms commanded by the Earl of Arran, and Captain Achisson's company of Scotch Light Cavalry.<sup>3</sup> The second breach was guarded by Captain Hume, lieutenant of the Scots Men-at-arms. His troops behaved so well that Admiral Coligny stated publicly that during the whole time the siege lasted he never saw officers or men display a more soldierly spirit or act more efficiently.<sup>4</sup> The Constable de

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Melville, *Memoirs of his own Times*, p. 24 (1827, 4to).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires de Coligny*, Coll. Petitot, p. 419, *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 419, *et seq.*; *Commentaires de F. de Rabutin*, Coll. Petitot, vol. xxxii, pp. 91, 92.

Montmorency wished to raise the siege, but was too precipitate in his movements. On the 10th of August, 1557, he was forced to give battle in an unfavourable position with 25,000 soldiers against 50,000, and was completely defeated.

Henry II. hastened to abandon Italy, and recalled from thence his veteran forces. With the 40 lances of the royal ordnance, the pick and flower of the Duke of Guise's army, was the company of Stewart d'Aubigny, composed of 35 men-at-arms and 57 archers. In the beginning of January, 1558, with a mere handful of soldiers, the duke recaptured Calais, and on the 23d of June he stormed Thionville,<sup>1</sup> which brought about the treaty of Cateau Cambresis.<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth was most pressing in her demands that Calais should be restored. "The English nation," said she, "would never be reconciled to the loss of that place." "But Calais," replied the French commissioners, "was always French territory, and the French nation will never consent to relinquish it. Put the case that Calais is to be surrendered, and that we really owe such a debt to the crown of England, to whom shall we deliver Calais? To whom shall we pay the debt? Is not the Queen of Scots the true Queen of England? Shall we deliver Calais and pay the debt to another, and thereby prejudice the rights of the Queen of Scotland and the Dauphin, her husband?"<sup>3</sup> We shall see that this was not an unmeaning bravado.

When Mary, Queen of England, died on the 17th of November, although England seemed nearly unanimous in support of Elizabeth, who was immediately placed on the throne, the French Court declared the Queen of Scots to be also Queen of England; and the arms of England were engraven and quartered with the arms of Scotland and France on all the plate and furniture belonging to the Scottish queen and her husband. The quartering was noticed by the English ambassador on a memorable occasion, the tournament in which Henry II. received his fatal wound.

<sup>1</sup> Archives, K. 92, No. 14.

<sup>2</sup> April 2d, 1559.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. Stevenson, Calendar of State Papers (Foreign Series, 1559-1560), 2d March, 1559, pp. xlvi., xlvii.



“When the Dauphin’s band began the jousts, two heralds which came before the bands were Scots, fair set out with the king and queen’s arms, with a scutcheon of England set forth to the show, as all the world might easily perceive; the same being embroidered with purple velvet, and set out with armoury upon their breasts, backs, and sleeves.

“The king entered the lists upon the afternoon of June 29. He ran the first course with the Duke of Savoy, and the second with the Duke of Guise, on both of which occasions he acquitted himself with his usual skill, and gained his usual amount of applause.” His third antagonist was Gabriel Montgomery, son of James Montgomery, Captain of the Scots Guards, a tall and powerful young man. “He struck Henry so roughly with his lance, that the king reeled in his saddle and nearly lost one of his stirrups. It was now M. De Villeville’s turn, and he presented himself at the barrier for the purpose of entering the lists, but the king interposed, saying that he himself wished to try another course with his late antagonist, the issue of the previous encounter having been too indefinite to be satisfactory. Observing that he was irritated and excited, all present endeavoured to dissuade him, but in vain. He charged Montgomery upon his allegiance to remount and to take his place at the other end of the lists. There was no alternative, and Montgomery obeyed with marked reluctance. Both of the antagonists splintered their lances successfully; but the count neglected to throw away the broken shaft which remained in his hand. It struck the king’s helmet as the horses passed each other in the lists, forced open his visor, and (according to Throckmorton’s narrative), ‘hitting his face, gave him such a counter-buff as drove a splinter into his head, right over his eye on the right side; the force of which stroke was so vehement, and the pain was so great, that he was much astonished.’ He dropped the rein, bent forward over the horse’s neck, and had much ado to keep himself from falling. He was lifted from his horse and unarmed close by where the English ambassador was seated, who consequently had a near view of the whole occurrence. The hurt seemed not to be great, but the king was

very weak, and had the sensé of all his limbs almost benumbed, for being carried away as he lay along, nothing covered but his face, he moved neither hand nor foot, but lay like one amazed. Villeville went with him into his chamber at the Tournelles, near to the spot at which the accident had happened, and there he remained in constant attendance upon his master. The queen was not admitted; it was feared that her lamentations would disturb the patient. The most expert surgeons in France were at once summoned, but they were unable to extract the splinters of wood, which they had reason to believe remained deep in the wound. When Philip heard of the accident, he immediately despatched to Paris his own surgeon, the illustrious Vesalius. The doctors in attendance busied themselves in dissecting the heads of four or five criminals, whom they caused to be executed in the meantime, and on which they had inflicted injuries similar to that which had befallen the king. All, however, was in vain. Henry died on the 10th of July."<sup>1</sup>

No proceedings were taken against Montgomery in consequence of this involuntary regicide, but he felt that henceforth it would be impossible for him to appear at court, and he retired to his estates in Normandy. Afterwards he travelled in England till the religious war began. Having embraced Calvinism, he returned to France, became one of the leaders of the Protestant party, and carried on a long contest against the royal troops. When invested in Saint Lo by Matignon, Governor of Normandy, he retired to the castle of Domfront, where he was obliged to surrender after a gallant resistance, and was executed in the place de Grève in Paris, on the 27th of May, 1574. His granddaughter married Jacques de Durfort de Duras, to whom she conveyed the Seigneurie de Lorges, which has since remained in that family.

#### FRANCIS II.—1559-60.

Francis II. succeeded his father, Henry II., with Mary of Scotland for queen. Nothing seemed more certain than the steadfastness of

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Stevenson, Calendar of State Papers (Foreign Series, 1559-60).

the old league between France and Scotland, when both had the same Queen, and yet within it elements of discord were at work. The claim recently asserted by Henry II., in favour of his daughter-in-law, Mary Stewart, was now revived with increased energy by her husband. Mary had assumed the Royal Arms of England; she designated herself Queen of England and Ireland, and had adopted that style and title in public documents which issued from her chancery. Nor was this an empty boast. It was the outward declaration of the deliberate resolve to place Mary of Scotland upon the English throne.

While conscious that they were secure from English aggression, the Scots felt that their independence was menaced by France, and were unwilling to submit to any foreign control whatever. Both the nobility and the Protestants, whose numbers continually increased, became highly discontented, and, with the exception of the guards, the number of Scots who sought to advance their fortunes in France diminished considerably.

Meanwhile Francis II., who was rarely exempt from physical ailment and suffering, died in December 1560. Throckmorton thus announces to Cecil Mary's condition after the death of her husband. "He departed to God, leaving as heavy and dolorous a wife as of good right she had reason to be, who by long watching with him during his sickness, and by painful diligence about him, especially the issue thereof, is not in the best time of her body, but without danger."<sup>1</sup>

Shortly afterwards Mary returned to Scotland, and left behind a great number of Scots discharging civil or military functions, whose prospects were irretrievably shattered on the withdrawal of the support that had hitherto sheltered them.

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Stevenson, *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign Series, 1569-60)*.

## CHAPTER X.

### CHARLES IX.—1560-1574.—CIVIL WARS IN FRANCE.

WE have now reached a period of complete anarchy which lasted ten years. From one end of the country to the other there were no military institutions nor anything that can be called an army; every man fought for himself. Any soldier that could get thirty men to join him styled himself captain; there were captains who took up arms for the king, and captains who professed to serve religion. Wearied with perpetual disobedience, the advisers of the crown ceased to give orders to which no one paid even the semblance of respect. In such a state of confusion it would be vain to expect to find a sphere of action fitted for Scotch enterprise. If they were not all actors in the sombre life-drama then enacted in France, the contemporary historians were at least so absorbed by the perils which surrounded them, that it is only now and then that we find in their memoirs a few faint traces to guide inquirers of a later period.

Among the loyal followers of Charles IX. we remark John Gordon, Lord of Glenluce,<sup>1</sup> Peter Aliday, *Seigneur de Cherves*,<sup>2</sup> John Gordon of Longorme,<sup>3</sup> Maxville de Lovat, one of the king's counsellors,<sup>4</sup> and Claude Stewart.<sup>5</sup> But their influence did not prevent the royal council from proposing to disband the companies of Scotch cavalry. Though their valour was highly esteemed by the French nobles, and,

<sup>1</sup> C. A. Gordon, *A Concise History of the House of Gordon*, 12mo, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MS., fond. français, No. 7853, fol. 431.

<sup>3</sup> W. Gordon, *History of the Family of Gordon*, vol. i., p. 381 (1726, 8vo).

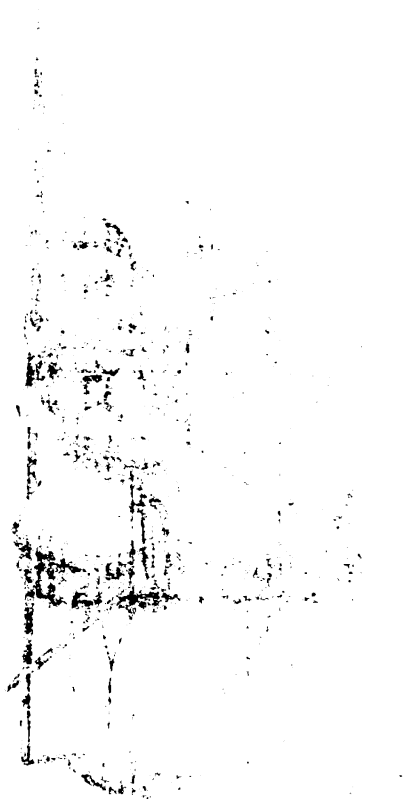
<sup>4</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MS., No. 7853.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. ii., p. 257.











amongst others, by Coligny; though great praise had been earned by their services in the late war; and though it was generally conceded that some regard was due to the feelings of a nation always a faithful ally of France; the proposal, however, gained additional support in consequence of the Protestant views adopted by many Scots, especially by James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, commander of the Scots Men-at-arms.<sup>1</sup> Nor was he the only Calvinist in command, for we find that 25 Scots Guards serving with the Prince of Condé were dismissed, and their places filled by Catholics approved by the Archbishop of Glasgow.<sup>2</sup>

The news of the massacre of St Bartholomew, which soon crossed the Channel, and was brought to Scotland by Scotchmen that had escaped from the scene of carnage,<sup>3</sup> contributed powerfully to undermine French influence. John Knox caused himself to be carried to the pulpit, and poured forth torrents of invective against the destroyers of the Huguenots.<sup>4</sup> Seconded by Sir Henry Killigrew,<sup>5</sup> he easily succeeded in raising a popular outcry against the Catholics and against Charles IX.<sup>6</sup>

#### HENRY III.—1574-1589.

When Henry III. ascended the throne on the 30th of May, 1574, the Scotch Catholics were crowding into France in quest of a new fatherland. Queen Mary recommended them to Cardinal de Lorraine, and pensioned many of them. The king himself, who had granted an income of 400 *livres* a month with shelter to the Earl of Arran,<sup>7</sup> inter-

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS., Clairambault, No. 818, p. 3; MS. français, No. 1321, fols. 255, 256.

<sup>2</sup> Thorpe, Calendar of State Papers, vol. i, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., ann. 1572, August 22 and 25.

<sup>4</sup> Tytler, History of Scotland, vol. vi., p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Brother-in-law of Lord Burghley, the minister of Elizabeth, who sent him to Scotland in September 1572.

<sup>6</sup> Tytler, History of Scotland, vol. vi., pp. 179, 180.

<sup>7</sup> Teulet, Papiers d'État, etc., vol. ii., p. 415.

ceded in behalf of persecuted Scotch Catholics, and requested that they might be allowed to emigrate to his dominions.<sup>1</sup> But when Lord Seton besought him earnestly to renew the old alliance with Scotland, and to maintain the Scots Guard with all their privileges,<sup>2</sup> Henry apologised for not taking again into his pay the company of Men-at-arms, on account of his impoverished exchequer. "As for my Scots Guards," the king continued, "as I had found them on my accession to the throne, I had allowed them to continue; and in such high esteem did I hold the Scotch nation for their unswerving fealty to the crown of France, that they would receive from me the same honours and kind treatment that were exhibited to them by my predecessors."<sup>3</sup>

Those fair words did not prevent Henry III. from renewing his alliance with Elizabeth, nor from depriving Queen Mary of the Duchy of Touraine, assigned to her as her dowry after the death of Francis II.<sup>4</sup> At one time Henry III. seemed to be drawn closer to Mary. Alarmed at the intimacy of the relations between Scotland and England, he determined to send Baron d'Esneval as his representative at the court of James VI., and promised to restore to that sovereign the privilege of nominating the archers of the Scots Guards; but this promise was no more observed than many others that he made. In vain also did all Catholics implore him to deliver Mary Queen of Scots; their prayers made no impression on him.<sup>5</sup> Within a few months after the execution of Mary, her uncle the Duke of Guise was murdered at Blois in the king's audience chamber. Henry's lukewarmness to Queen Mary had its explanation. He was not going to commit himself against a powerful monarch like Elizabeth in order to protect a member of the detested family doomed by him to destruction. Most of the towns of France, indignant at this base act, rebelled. In

<sup>1</sup> Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, etc., vol. ii., p. 578.

<sup>2</sup> A. Chéruel, *Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis*, pp. 114, 115. Paris, 1858, 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Henry III. to M. de la Mauvissière, May, 1584; *The Life of Th. Egerton*, etc., p. 25, col. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, etc., vol. ii., p. 359.

<sup>5</sup> Labanoff, *Recueil*, etc., vol. vi., p. 263.

this emergency Henry applied for assistance to his generous enemy Henry of Béarn, King of Navarre, who joined him with his army, and the two kings laid siege to Paris. During this siege Henry III. was murdered, and died on the 2d of August, 1589.

#### HENRY IV.—1589-1610.

During his last hours Henry III. ordered the chief officers of state to take the oath of allegiance to his legitimate heir Henry of Béarn. On the death of Henry III., the new king went to Saint Cloud, and from thence to the palace of the late monarch, and on his way he met the Scots Guards, who knelt down before him and were the first to acknowledge him as their lord and sovereign. De Biron, De Bellegarde, and De Château-Vieux, Captain of the Scots, Dampierre, and many others, came immediately to pay their respects.<sup>1</sup> Still a great many noblemen declared against him, and the citizens of Paris proclaimed the Cardinal De Bourbon king under the title of Charles X. Henry IV. was unable to muster more than 8000 men, and felt that with so small a force it was impossible to march on Paris with any hope of success. His affairs seemed well nigh desperate, but James VI. offered him an auxiliary force of 6000 men,<sup>2</sup> and he marched to Normandy to be ready to receive them. Hard pressed by superior forces, he was thinking of taking refuge in England, when the first detachment of Scotch troops landed at Dieppe. They numbered 1500 men, and were commanded by Messire d'Ovins (Sir James Colvill of Easter Wemyss), a valiant knight and an old companion-in-arms of His Majesty.<sup>3</sup> "It caused us no small amusement," says an eye-witness, "to see them arrayed after

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires de Sully, Coll. Michaud, vol. ii., p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> "The King of Scotland is more urgent than ever. He proposes to come over and help me at the head of 6000 men, and offers to pay their expenses" (Letter of Henry IV. to the Countess de Gramont. Cf. de Valori, *Journal Militaire de Henri IV.*, p. 299).

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Colvill of Easter Wemyss had fought at the battle of Coutras in October, 1587, with Robert Ledel and John Ramsay (Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 190; Archives du Département des Basses-Pyrénées, B. 2512, 2886, 2899).

the fashion of the ancient warriors embroidered on old tapestries, wearing mail coats and steel helmets covered with black cloth, like priests' caps, marching to the sound of bagpipes and hautboys. They were quartered in the suburb leading to Bouteille, and when Sir James Colvill had reconnoitred the place, he begged the king to allow him to attack it. His Majesty granted the request, and ordered the regiment of Vallirault, then of Navarre, to support the movement with 200 dismounted troopers armed with halberds. Sir James Colvill succeeded so well that he killed a great many malcontents, took the rest prisoners, and carried off their baggage."<sup>1</sup>

Henry longed to show the new-comers to the Duke of Mayenne, and perform some exploit to prevent him from saying that he remained confined in the town through fear, so, when he had taken possession of Dieppe, he established himself in a fortified camp on rising ground at Arques. Favoured by a dense fog, Mayenne attacked the camp. Henry was at first surprised, but soon recovered his self-possession and rallied his troops, and the king's company, commanded by Montgomery, charged and repulsed Mayenne. Taking advantage of his victory, Henry marched rapidly towards Paris, and in order to intercept the supplies from the rich district of La Beauce, laid siege to Dreux, bringing into action the company of Sir James Colvill, entirely composed of Scotch gentlemen, highly courageous, but by no means strictly obedient to their captain.<sup>2</sup> They fought by the side of Henry IV. at Ivry, and were employed at the siege of Rouen.<sup>3</sup>

When established on the throne of France, Henry IV., like his predecessors, retained his Scots Guards. We see them accompanying him on his abjuration of heresy in 1593, and at his coronation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires du Duc d'Angoulême, Coll. Petitot, p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> Journal Militaire, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France, 1st series, vol. xiii., p. 349. Cardinal du Perron, well acquainted with his tastes, thought of giving him a Scotch preacher, Mr Strachan, who "was the most honest man he had ever seen" (Perroniana, etc., p. 306. Geneva, 1669, in 8vo). Peter Lowe, a Scotchman, was physician in ordinary to His Majesty.

After the peace of Vervins, Henry IV. retained in the French service only two Swiss companies, the Scotch company attached to his guards, and the Corsican regiment of Ornano.<sup>1</sup> Desirous of reinstating the company of Scots Men-at-arms which had been neglected by the reason of the unhappy civil troubles lasting through several reigns, and the command of which he intended to give to the Duke of Lennox, Henry sent to James VI., towards the end of September, 1594, the commission for organising an ordnance company of 100 men-at-arms.<sup>2</sup> But we find that the company was not actually organised till ten years after he wrote. On the 29th of September, writing to Monsieur de Beaumont, his ambassador in England, he informed him that he would receive by the same post the commission for the company of 100 Scots men-at-arms, addressed by permission of the King of Great Britain to his dear nephew the Duke of Albany. "I desire," added Henry, "that the said company be composed of gentlemen able to serve, of which, as you will inform him, the Duke of Lennox is to take command."<sup>3</sup>

We have a muster roll of the ordnance company of 100 men-at-arms present under the orders of the Duke of York in the court of the Abbey Castle, Edinburgh, Scotland, 25th December, 1612, drawn up by Guilleminet, commissary ordinary of war, and Sève, comptroller, deputed by His Majesty for that purpose, in which we find, with the Duke of York and the Duke of Lennox, Sir George Kier of Greneland, Sir William Stewart of Blantaire, Sir James Colvil, Baron of Wemyss, James Melvill, John Hamilton, David Drummold, and many others in no wise inferior in point of lineage.<sup>4</sup>

Henry spared no effort to strengthen the links of the ancient and unbroken friendship which had bound together Scotland and France; and to prove his goodwill towards that nation, he honoured the company of his Scots Guards with his special protection;<sup>5</sup> he confirmed

<sup>1</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de l'Infanterie*, vol. i., p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil des Lettres Missives de Henri IV.*, vol. iv., p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 296, 297.

<sup>4</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. No. 26,471.

<sup>5</sup> A. Houston, *L'Escosse françoise*, fol. 28, 8vo. Paris, 1608.

to the Scots in France "*the graces and privileges whereof they have rendered themselves worthy, through the affection and fidelity which they have borne this crown,*"<sup>1</sup> and gave them advantages which they had never enjoyed in the time of his predecessors.<sup>2</sup>

Though altered by the religious revolution and by the union of the crowns of Scotland and England, the old relations between France and Scotland, and the mutual sympathy engendered by them, were not yet destined to cease. A diplomatist wrote from Scotland in 1603: "As a body, Englishmen hold the maxim that it is better to prefer the House of Burgundy to that of France, as being their old friends and confederates. The Scots, on the contrary, incline to favour the old inviolate alliance and friendship with France."<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, many noblemen belonging to the first families in Scotland were still to be met with in the French service.

Lord Colvill, who had served many years under Henry IV., in his old age revisited France. As he appeared in the old-fashioned military dress which he had worn in the wars, the courtiers were amazed at his presence; but no sooner did the gallant Henry observe the aged warrior than he embraced him with the greatest affection.<sup>4</sup> Lord Colvill enjoyed but a short time the delightful simplicity of manners and benevolence of Henry IV., who, on the 14th May, 1610, was stabbed to death in his carriage.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Henry IV., "Déclaration de Naturalité pour les Écossois," ann. 1599; Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. No. 7996, fol. 102.

<sup>2</sup> A. Houston, *L'Escosse française*, fol. 23, 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, etc., vol. iii., p. 708; Stat. Account of Scotland, vol. xv., p. 212 (Account of Tillicoultry).

<sup>4</sup> Lord Colvill visited France once more, in 1611. "After his return he spent much of his time at Tillicoultry, and was fond of walking on a beautiful terrace, and of reposing under a thorn tree, the venerable trunk of which still remains. It happened that, standing one day on a stone, and looking up to the thorn tree describing his battles, he fell down the sloping bank of the terrace, and, it is said, was killed on the spot" (Wood, *Peerage*, vol. i., p. 3).

## CHAPTER XI.

### LOUIS XIII.—1610-1643—WAR WITH GERMANY.

SHORTLY after Louis XIII.'s accession to the throne, the Scots Guards had to complain of forfeiture of rank and breach of privileges.<sup>1</sup> Sir Ralph Winwood gives us some information as to the grievances of the petitioners. "I have not told you," he writes to the English Resident at Brussels, "of the great complaints of the Scots Guards as to the violation of their privileges, and especially as to the unjust conduct of their captain, De Nerestan, inasmuch as in the company which should be solely composed of Scots, two-thirds are Frenchmen; and, moreover, he has transferred to his countrymen several rights and privileges belonging to the Scots. Finding it impossible to obtain redress for these, and several other causes of complaint that they allege against their commander, the Scots laid the matter before the King of England, entreating him to intercede for them. This step has so greatly exasperated against them not only their captain, but some of the principal ministers of state, that notwithstanding His Majesty's recommendation they have been unable to obtain redress, or even a promise that the affair should be investigated."<sup>2</sup>

A letter of Sir Thomas Edmondes, resident envoy of Great Britain to the court of France, to the Earl of Salisbury, dated the 1st of February, 1611, contains the same declaration of their grievances, and an account of the steps taken by the representative of James VI. to

<sup>1</sup> Dunlop, *Papers relative to the Royal Guard*, pp. 17, 23. Edinb. 1835, in 4to.

<sup>2</sup> Winwood *Memorials*, vol. iii., p. 359. London, 1725, 3 vols. in fol.

obtain redress.<sup>1</sup> This letter was followed a year afterwards by a second letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes to the Earl of Salisbury.<sup>2</sup> It does not appear that the negotiations in question produced the desired effect, and the following year a pamphlet appeared, entitled, "*Plainte des Gardes Écossoises au roy.*"<sup>3</sup>

James Lord Colvill of Culross, whose services and merits were well known to the court of France, was entrusted by James VI. with the management of the affair, but he was unsuccessful.<sup>4</sup> Shortly afterwards Sir Thomas Edmondes informed Lord Salisbury that "a great French minister, whom he names not, took off the masque to him, and plainly told him that it was true indeed the Scotch nation had deserved very well of France, and the Scottes Guards had behaved still as men of honour and fidelity to the king, but that now, since King James' accession to the crown of England, the case was altered, and France could no longer consider them as they were, viz., Scottes, but English, and therefore were determined to extinguish them."<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, one of the Scots Guards came to a tragical end. When Captain Colvill was killed at the siege of Amiens, his half-brother Douglas succeeded him as lieutenant in the Scotch company. He lodged in the Faubourg Saint-Marceau, and seemed very attentive to his landlady. One night the husband went into his room and gave him several wounds which caused his death some time afterwards. The brother of Lieutenant Douglas, an archer in the guards, sought to be revenged on the murderer. There was in Paris at the same time another Scotch gentleman named Robert Douglas. As he was riding through the streets he saw a crowd collected at the Porte Bussy; he went on and recognised his namesake the archer and a young Scotchman named Drummond, who had fallen in with the murderer of Lieutenant Douglas. They struck him repeatedly, knocked him down, and broke the points of

<sup>1</sup> Dunlop, Papers relative to the Royal Guard, etc., p. 17, *sq. q.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS., Brienne, No. 54, fols. 269-275.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of James Lord Colvill of Culross to King James, 8th April, 1611 (Dunlop Papers).

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Sir Th. Edmondes to Lord Salisbury, 30th March, 1612 (Dunlop Papers, etc.).











their swords in trying to pierce a coat of mail he wore under his clothes. During the whole of the scene Robert Douglas remained on horseback without taking part in the proceedings. Thinking they had killed their countryman's murderer, who in reality had received no serious injury, the two young Scotchmen left France and returned to Scotland. This affair took place at the time when the Marquis de Nerestan had a grudge against the Scots Guards. Robert Douglas was a talented man, an excellent patriot, and was ever ready to help a Scotchman. Writing French easily, he helped the Guards, when annoyed by their captain, to set forth and publish their grievances, which gave such offence that it was determined he should be made an example of on the first opportunity. Consequently he was thrown into prison as being one of the assailants in the affray at the Porte Bussy, brought to trial, and condemned to death. The English Ambassador tried his utmost to save his life; the Prince de Condé, Marshal de Bassompierre, and other influential persons did what they could, but their endeavours were ineffectual.<sup>1</sup>

Another Scotchman accused of treason was beheaded in front of the Louvre. He had returned from the war in Piedmont, and had taken lodgings in the Faubourg Saint Germain, where he was arrested by the captain of the watch on the plea that he had levied soldiers on behalf of the princes, of which he is declared innocent in a memorial addressed to the king and council in the name of James VI.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after, King James wrote a second memorial to the French king and council, insisting on the restoration of the Guards to their proper number and privileges; or, should this be refused, discharging them from continuing to be embodied under the name of the Scotch Company.<sup>3</sup>

The Scots Guard, however, was maintained, and steps were taken

<sup>1</sup> Dunlop, Papers relative to the Royal Guard, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Information of the Scottis Garde in France, etc., Papers relative to the Royal Guard, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Dunlop, Papers relative to the Royal Guard, p. 42.

to procure the restoration of the Men-at-arms, as appears from the following letter :

“ 20 *febr.*, 1623.

“ The Lords of Privy Council to King James VI.

“ MOST SACRED SOVERANE,

“ This nobleman, the Lord Colville, haveing a purpois to go to France, and be the way to kisse your maiesties hand, for solliciting the re-establishing and erectioun of the Scottishe gaird and Scottishe companie of men-at-arms, according to thair first institutioun, and the Franshe King his promeis of tymes made to that effect, the said lord, for the better advancement of the bussyness, hes maid earnist sute unto us, that we wall not onlie recommend him and this his honnorable purpois unto your maiestie, bot thair-withall that we wald intreate your maiestie, to accompanie him with your uone lettre to the Franshe King for the furtherance of the mater. We haveing at lenthe hard him upoun this subiect, and acknowledgeing his generous dispositioun and tender respect to the credit of his natie cuntry, and preservatioun of the privilegis of the same, for procureing whair of, he weyreis not now, in his auld aige, to undertak so lang and dangerous a iornay, we all allowit of his motioun, and will presooome humelie to recommend him to your maiesties gracious and favourable acceptance, and will crave permissioun to intreate your maiestie, that, after conference with him self upoun the probabilityes and likliehode of this his purpois, your maiestie wil be pleased to accompanie him with suche lettres to the Franshe King, as your maiestie, in the excellencie of your princelie wisdoms, shall holde fitting ; and we are persuadit thair wilbe no thing wanting in the nobleman, whereby his travellis and endevoiris in this mater may bring the same to a goode conclusioun. And so, with the continewance of oure uncessant prayars unto God for your maiesteis lang and happie reigne, we rest for ever,

“ Your maiesties most humble and obedient subjects and servitouris,

“ GEORGE HAY.

“ W. OLIPHANT.

“ MELROS.

“ CARNEGIE.

“ J. HAMILTON.

“ ROXBURGHE.

“ A. MAR.

“ MELVILL.

“ LAUDERDAILL.

“ KILSATTH.

“ A. HAMILTON.

“ *Edinburg*, 20 *February* 1623.

“ To the King his most sacred and excellent maiestie.”<sup>1</sup>

The same year Lord Gordon, Earl of Enzie, came to France to solicit the re-establishment of the company of Scots Men-at-arms, of which he was to have been Deputy Commander, and of which his uncle,

<sup>1</sup> From the Melros Papers, vol. ii., p. 503.

the Duke of Lennox, was to have had the command ; just as the Duke of Lennox had been Deputy Commander under the Duke of York since Charles I., who had commanded the company for some time.<sup>1</sup>

Two days before the death of Lewis, Duke of Lennox, the letters-patent of the King of France ordering the re-establishment of the company of Scots Men-at-arms had been delivered in London by the French Ambassador to the duke and his nephew, appointing the former captain and the latter lieutenant. On the death of the duke, the Earl of Enzie succeeded him as captain, leaving the lieutenancy to Lord Gray.<sup>2</sup> Thus the command of the Scots Men-at-arms, which had been for centuries the prerogative of the families of Lennox and Aubigny, passed to the House of Gordon, and remained there in spite of the efforts made to regain possession of so lucrative an office.<sup>3</sup>

In the month of July, 1625, George Lord Gordon, Earl of Enzie, made his first muster of his company of men-at-arms at Leith in presence of the officers of the King of France sent thither to that effect. They were conducted by Sir Robert Gordon, Tutor of Sutherland, from London to Edinburgh, where they were nobly entertained by the Earl of Enzie and the Scottish nobility, and sent home again to their master, the French king, with great satisfaction and content. Lord John Gordon, the Earl of Enzie's brother, was made his lieutenant, and Lord William Gordon was appointed to be the first gentleman of the company.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, war having broken out in 1627 between France and Great Britain, the Scotch company of men-at-arms was given up. But two years subsequently, on the conclusion of peace, it was reorganised. Louis XIII. sent orders to the Earl of Enzie for the purpose of regulating the route to be followed by the soldiers from their landing at

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Gordon, *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 374. Edinb., 1813, in fol.

<sup>2</sup> Wm. Gordon, *History of the . . . Family of Gordon*, vol. ii., pp. 120, 611-613.

<sup>3</sup> Francisque-Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, vol. ii., p. 278, note No. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Lord William Gordon was the son of George Gordon of Kindrock, a branch of the family of Pitlurg. He had been Gentleman Usher to Mary Tudor's Privy Chamber (*History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 395).

Boulogne to Lyons ; but in 1633 a fresh letter from the king to the Earl, now Marquis of Huntly, altered the directions previously given by His Majesty. The troops were no longer to be employed in Italy, but in Germany, under the orders of Marshal de la Force.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Gordon, with his company, took an active part in the conquest of Lorraine. He then followed Marshal de la Force to Alsatia and Germany, where he and his men-at-arms behaved themselves so valiantly, and by their valour and courage inspired such confidence, that they were always employed upon the hardest and most difficult enterprises. When the town of Spire was taken by the French, his eldest son, Lord George Gordon, was hurt in the thigh whilst fighting upon the breach of the ramparts with his pike, but did not desist until the Imperialists yielded and surrendered the town to the French.<sup>2</sup>

In 1635 Charles I., knowing how valuable Lord Gordon would be to him and to his service in suppressing the rebellion in the north, His Majesty wrote earnestly for him ; but it seems that he could not then with credit leave the army of the French king, who had determined to take part in the Thirty Years' War. Having to face the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy, Richelieu had no less than nineteen foreign regiments in French pay. Besides the Scots Men-at-arms commanded by Lord Gordon, there were "*Les Gardes Écossoises*," a Scotch regiment organised in 1642, by the Earl of Irvine ;<sup>3</sup> Sir John Hepburn's Scotch regiment ;<sup>4</sup> Forbes' regiment

<sup>1</sup> There is still extant a muster roll of the company, which the Marquis de Fontenoy, French ambassador at London, praised very highly (Wm. Gordon, History of the . . . Family of Gordon, vol. ii., p. 627).

<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert Gordon, History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 460.

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs illustrative of the Life . . . of J. Evelyn, vol. ii., p. 263. Lond. 1818, 2 vols. in 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Of Scotch officers in the pay of Louis XIII., the best known is Sir John Hepburn, who served in the French army since the 26th of January, 1633, the date of his commission. Sir John Hepburn, who was commonly called *Le Chevalier d'Hébron*, as his real name was difficult to pronounce, had served for a long time in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus. Having separated from that prince in consequence of some difficulty in which he was not personally concerned, he entered the French service, and was placed in command of a Scotch



of infantry and regiment of cavalry;<sup>1</sup> and the regiment of Colonel Douglas, numbering 1000 men. It was with these troops, reared in the school of Gustavus Adolphus, that Turenne began to display his great qualities as a strategist; and when Louis XIII. passed away on the 14th of May, 1643, the French army was in such an efficient state, and so ably commanded, that within a week it proved at Rocroy more than a match for the formidable Spanish infantry which had so long been the boast of the House of Asturia.<sup>2</sup>

regiment. He gained the friendship of Cardinal de Richelieu and Cardinal de la Valette, and his name occupies a conspicuous place in the correspondence of the Cardinals. The former always mentions him with respect and admiration, sometimes affectionately. They often discoursed together on military or political topics; for Richelieu liked Sir John Hepburn for his lively conversation, frank manner, and bold conceptions (Francisque-Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, vol. ii., p. 291).

<sup>1</sup> Hon. Colonel John Forbes, with his brother Alexander, tenth Lord Forbes, spent many years in the wars on the Continent. Arthur Forbes, second Earl Granard, served under Turenne (Archives of Castle Forbes, Historical MSS. Commission, Appendix to 2d Report, p. 211).

<sup>2</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de l'Ancienne Infanterie Française*, vol. viii., p. 136.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE LAST KINGS OF FRANCE—THE LAST SCOTS GUARDS.

A FEW negotiations preserved in the Records of the Privy Council of Scotland are perhaps the last attempts that were made to renew the ancient league and restore the privileges of the Scots in France, including the monopoly of the appointments in the Guard. In 1642 William, Earl of Lothian, was commissioned to proceed to France for the purpose.<sup>1</sup> Louis XIV. answered that he would renew the league only on the condition that the "Scots directlie or indirectlie enter not in armes in England, whether under pretext of serving the King of Great Britain, or under pretext of serving religioun, without expresse commissioun from the king their master."<sup>2</sup>

Almost at the same time the first English Revolution having given rise to a large emigration of Scotch Royalists, a great many came to France. They were now no longer brave knights seeking the region best fitted for pushing their fortunes, but poor refugees seeking bread or a place of refuge. But their ancestors had left a glorious name in the annals of France, and Louis XIV. expressed his sympathies for them by maintaining the privileges granted to the Scots by his predecessors. "Considering," says Louis, "that even whatever rupture there may have been between the crowns of France and England since the union of the kingdom of England with that of Scotland, the French have been nevertheless still treated by the Scots as friends and confederates, and particularly in the year 1626, when the French in Scotland and the Scots in France had a reciprocal replevy of their

<sup>1</sup> Papers relative to the Royal Guard of Scottish Archers in France, p. x.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

merchandises, while those of the French in England and those of the English in France were confiscated; and that there never hath been made any difference or distinction in this kingdom between his majesty's natural subjects and the said Scots. The intention of his majesty, who wills and means to entertain most inviolably the said confederacy and alliance with the said Scots, and to maintain them in all the rights, privileges, and prerogatives unto them granted by the kings his predecessors, . . . hath discharged . . . all the Scottish gentlemen residing in France from the tax laid upon them in quality of foreigners. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Louis XIV. maintained the companies of Scots Men-at-arms and Scots Guards, the only two corps in the French army which had survived the troubles of the sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> and allowed both companies to remain in possession of their privileges. One of them was to take precedence of the whole French army in virtue of seniority—a most precious privilege, if we remember the importance then attached to precedence, as may be inferred from the following incident which took place at the siege of Mahon. The general had so disposed his troops for the attack, without intention perhaps, or in order to save valuable men, that the Grenadiers found themselves in the rear. At the news of this order, the officer in command, jealous of the post of honour, begged the general that on this occasion he would forego his habit of putting himself at the head of his troops. Much surprised at the request, the general urged the officer to explain himself. "General," said the officer, "as Grenadiers we are used to look upon all in front of us as enemies, and I should be sorry if any untoward accident should happen to you." This delicate and shrewd reply had its effect. The orders were countermanded, and the Grenadiers were placed in their old position.<sup>3</sup>

It was natural that the French should murmur at the distinctions

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, vol. i., pp. 211, 242.

<sup>3</sup> General Blondel, *Coup d'œil sur les Devoirs et l'Esprit Militaires*, p. 42. Paris, 1875, in 8vo.

bestowed on the strangers, and the records of the court prove that they frequently met with jealous opposition.

At the funeral of Louis XIII., according to the ceremonial, the Scots Guards were to accompany the corpse from St Germain's to St Denis, and not to leave it till it was deposited in the Bourbon vault. When the corpse reached St Denis, at the church door a disputed point arose regarding the pall between the Scots Guards and the royal footmen who had taken hold of it. The Guards claimed their privileges, and Lieutenant Seton defended their claim in opposition to the Prior, who was in favour of the royal servants. The point was then referred to the Marquis de Saintot, Master of Ceremonies, who decided in favour of the Guards; however, Lieutenant Seton gave ten pistoles to the royal servants. The corpse was then borne to the midst of the choir by eight Scots Guards.<sup>1</sup>

At the marriage of Louis XIV. in 1660, some noblemen belonging to the company of the *Cent Gentilshommes* attempted to place themselves on the platform, but were opposed by the Scots Guards, who claimed their privilege of standing alone near the king. The king had to leave his place to restore order, and after having heard both parties, he allowed four of the *Cent Gentilshommes* to remain on the platform, but below the four Life-Guardsmen.<sup>2</sup>

In consequence of so many privileges, it was deemed a great honour to enter either the Scots Guards or the Scots Men-at-arms, and after 1666, though the company of men-at-arms was still termed Scots, the recruits were principally French: from time to time the descendants of the first Scotch soldiers were admitted, but it became more and more difficult to enter the celebrated troop, which had been for more than two centuries an heirloom in the House of Stewart, and had counted two kings of England among its commanders.<sup>3</sup> The Scots Men-at-arms, the first cavalry corps in France after the Royal Household, was now almost unreservedly appropriated to the numerous

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale MS., fond français, No. 23,315.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Clair, No. 817, fol. 136.

<sup>3</sup> Charles I. and James II.









CY GIST SAMVEL DE FORBOYS, ESCVYER,  
 EN SON VIVANT, SEIGNEVR DE PRESLES ET  
 DE VILLIERS LE BACLE EN PARTIE ET PREMIER  
 HOMME D'ARMES DE FRANCE COMMENDANT  
 EN LA GARDE ESCOSSOISE DV CORPS DV ROY,  
 QVI DÉCÉDA LE CINQ D'OCTOBERE 1590.

*Que Dieu luy fasse misericorde.*





class of impoverished French nobles who had not the means to maintain a regiment.

Minden was the last battlefield of the Scots Men-at-arms, August 1, 1759. "From first to last," says General Susanne, "the Scotch company of men-at-arms affords an unparalleled example in European military annals of a corps lasting uninterruptedly for 360 years without material transformation as to organisation, attributes, and military service. Under the title of Scots Men-at-arms (*Gens d'armes Écossais*), one might write the history of the wars waged by France from the days of Joan of Arc to the Revolution."<sup>1</sup>

The Scots Guards were at the head of the French army in all the great battles fought under Louis XIV. In 1709, at the battle of Malplaquet, Prince James Stewart marching at their head,<sup>2</sup> they fell with irresistible impetuosity on the first line of the enemy, and pierced in succession the second, third, and fourth lines, picking off at leisure unlucky horsemen unable to effect their retreat in time. The Prince exposed himself to the force of the enemy with the greatest coolness, and was wounded at the same time with Stewart d'Aubigny, then in command of the *Royal* regiment. The battle of Lawfeld in 1747 was the last in which the Scots Guards were engaged.

As it was with the Scots Men-at-arms, so it was with the Scots Guards. Gradually the company came to be almost entirely composed of French recruits. Still the young guardsmen scrupulously kept up the formalities of their office after the manner of the Scots. None but very tall men were ever admitted into their ranks; and when they were challenged, after seeing that the palace gate was closed, they did not answer in French, "Me voilà," but replied in Gaelic, "I am here."<sup>3</sup> Up to the last days of the monarchy there still remained in the Guard some scions of the old families whose descendants were ambitious of emulating the well-proved traditions of courage and honour bequeathed to them by their ancestors.

<sup>1</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, vol. i., p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> He had taken the name of Chevalier de Saint George.

<sup>3</sup> Communicated many years ago by Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarente.

When thousands of Scotch Jacobites, following the fortunes of their king, came to France, very few could find admission into the celebrated corps founded by their ancestors. But those who were unsuccessful in their quest failed not in maintaining undiminished in the highest ranks of the French army the lustre of Scotch honour. So large an emigration of Royalists afforded materials for the formation of several Scotch regiments, such as the *Hamilton, Campbell, Royal Écossais, Ogilvy, Douglas, and Albany*.

Among the martyrs to their loyal devotion to the cause of the Stewarts, the Scotch officers who had served under Claverhouse at Killiecrankie deserve special notice. About 150 of these gentlemen, protesting against the capitulation of the Highlanders, left their country to follow the fortunes of James II. Their conduct, says Sir John Dalrymple, a Whig, was worthy of the best days of Athens or Sparta; he adds that they were all of distinguished birth, attached to their officers, and affectionately disposed to one another. Devoted to their sovereign, they formed for a while the military household of James II. at St Germain's, but after a time circumstances obliged him to part from them, which gave rise to a touching scene.

These 150 officers well born, attached to their commander, and glorying in their political creed, but feeling the pressure of circumstances on King James, whose scanty resources were barely sufficient to relieve the urgent needs of the unfortunate exiles dependent on the royal bounty, begged of their sovereign to allow them to form a company of volunteers and enter the French service. Having obtained the king's consent, they went to St Germain's in order to be reviewed for the last time by the exiled monarch. On the appointed day the king came down into the court, passed through the ranks, wrote down with his own hand in his pocket-book the name of every gentleman, and thanked every one of them by name. Then, passing along the company drawn up in line, he took off his hat and bowed to them. Again, as he was retiring, he turned back, bowed to them once more, and burst into tears. Then the whole company knelt down, bowed low, and, rising simultaneously, gave their sovereign the royal

salute. These gallant men, adds the same author, were always the foremost in battle and the last to retreat. They were often in want of the first necessities of life, yet they were never heard to complain save of the misfortunes of their exiled sovereign.<sup>1</sup>

Among the generals who distinguished themselves under Louis XIV. and Louis XV. may be noticed the names of Lord James Douglas, killed between Douay and Arras;<sup>2</sup> Maxwell, brigadier-general of dragoons, killed at La Marsaglia;<sup>3</sup> Lord George Douglas, Andrew Rutherford,<sup>4</sup> James Galloway Lord Dunkeld,<sup>5</sup> John Montgomery,<sup>6</sup> Lord Lockhart, Richard Hamilton, who was loved and esteemed by every one;<sup>7</sup> Louis Drummond of Melfort, David Lord Ogilvy, Francis Wauchop, Guy de Cunningham, an officer of high reputation, who served France sixty years, and distinguished himself in 1734, when lieutenant-colonel of the *Regiment Dauphin*, in an affair in Italy, in which he undertook to cover the retreat of the army by charging the enemy with 400 picked men, and escaped without a wound. For that gallant deed he received the cross of Saint Louis, a pension of 1200 livres, and was made colonel of the regiment of Flanders, with the rank of brigadier. He died in 1746, and was interred in the chapel of Arcenay by the side of six of his ancestors.<sup>8</sup>

George Hamilton, James Earl of Irvine, Ogilvy, Colbert (Cuthbert)

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee, by an officer of the army. Lond. 1711, in 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> Second son of William, Earl of Angus (Teissier, G. F., *Histoire de Thionville*, p. 147, Metz, 1828, 8vo; Wood's Peerage, p. 441).

<sup>3</sup> De Quincy, *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.*, vol. ii., p. 641.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Rutherford, only son of William Rutherford of Quarryholes, a cadet of the family of Hunthill, by Isabel, daughter of James Stewart of Traquair, was an officer in the French service, in which he rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, with great reputation for his knowledge in the art of war.

<sup>5</sup> Wood's Peerage, vol. i., p. 483, col. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Mercure* of June, 1722, pp. 195, 196.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. Memoirs of the Marquis de Souches in the possession of the Duke d'Escars.

<sup>8</sup> Pinard, vol. viii.; Courtépée, *Description historique du Duché de Bourgogne*, etc., vol. iv., p. 256.

of Castlehill, Nicholas Rutherford, Earl of Teviot, James Preston, Louis Drummond of Melfort, Donald Cameron of Lochyell, and Francis Wauchop commanded Scotch regiments.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the Scotch Royalists who followed James II. to France, like their sovereign, were never destined to return to their native land, and in many instances their children lived to be eye-witnesses of the misfortunes that were to fall on the royal family of France, and impart to them after years of glory so many points of resemblance to the unhappy line of the Stewarts. On the list of officers who shed their blood for the royal cause we read the names of Morison and Christon, MacDonald, and Moncrief.<sup>2</sup>

When Louis XVI. was compelled to attempt an escape from his kingdom in 1791, Mr Quentin Craufurd, a Scotchman, was secretly informed of the journey to Varennes, and the carriage, built expressly for the purpose, was conveyed to his house in the Rue de Clichy several days before the departure of the royal family. In presence of the storm impending over the illustrious captives, many a man might have shrunk from the thought of connecting his lot with the destiny of the royal family; but the generous spirit of Craufurd was not to be daunted by the prospect of danger: he immediately returned to Paris, and in the misfortunes that overwhelmed Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette he discovered fresh reasons for displaying towards them on all occasions the tenderest and most respectful devotion.

Quentin Craufurd remained in Paris till the middle of April, 1792. "A few days before my departure," said he, "the queen, remarking a signet ring that I wore, asked me if I set any particular value on the ring. 'No,' said I, 'it was purchased at Rome.' 'Then I will ask you to give it me,' she replied; 'I may have occasion to communicate with you, and should there be reasons for my not writing to you myself, the ring might serve as a token.' The seal bore the impress of an eagle

<sup>1</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de la Cavalerie and Histoire de l'Infanterie*; Wood's *Baronage*, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> A. Nettement, *Quiberon, Souvenirs du Morbihan*, pp. 322, 324, 328. Paris, 1869, in 12mo.

bearing an olive crown in its beak. On my making some remarks suggested by the symbol, she shook her head and said, 'I do not seek to delude myself; no happiness remains for me. I have only one hope left,' she added, after remaining silent for a moment, 'that my son, at least, may be happy!'"<sup>1</sup>

On the restoration of the monarchy in 1815, Louis XVIII. reinstated the Scots Guards, and confirmed their ancient privileges.<sup>2</sup> One of the most honourable of their prerogatives had been the right of carrying the coffin of the king to the place of its interment. Accordingly, on the 21st of January, 1815, when the remains of Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette were conveyed to St Denis, it was to the Scots Guards that the privilege was granted of bearing them thither. At eight o'clock in the morning of that day the members of the royal family betook themselves to the cemetery of *La Madeleine*, and entered the vault in which had been deposited the coffins containing the remains of Louis XVI. and the queen Marie Antoinette. After reciting the prayers for the dead, the two bodies were carried by the same twelve Guards into the vault of the Bourbons which had been prepared to receive them.

On one occasion more the Scots Guards paid this tribute of respect to a king of France. This was at the funeral of Louis XVIII., the last monarch interred at St Denis. On that day Scotland was represented by the Marquis Law of Lauriston, Marshal of France, and by Joseph Macdonald, Marshal of France and Duke of Tarente.<sup>3</sup>

A few years after came the Revolution of 1830. Pressed by adversity, the last King of France took refuge in Scotland, and the Scots Guards disappeared with the French monarchy.

<sup>1</sup> Francisque-Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, vol. ii., p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> In the list of the Scots Guards who in 1791 followed Louis XVIII. to Coblenz, we find the following names: *De Ros, Macusson, Saint Clar, Vernon (Vernor), Clamorgan, De Spens, chevalier de Lancre* (Comte de Flavigny, État de la Compagnie Écossaise. Paris, in 12mo).

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire des divers Corps de la Maison Militaire des Rois de France*, par M. Bouillier, Garde du Corps de *Monsieur*, pp. 401, 402. Paris, 1818, in 8vo.



## PART II.

### CHAP. I.

#### PRIVILEGES OF THE SCOTS MEN-AT-ARMS AND SCOTS GUARDS.

### CHAP. II.

#### THE COSTUME OF THE SCOTS GUARDS.













## CHAPTER I.

### PRIVILEGES OF THE SCOTS MEN-AT-ARMS (*Gendarmes Écossais*).

"The graces and privileges whereof they have rendered themselves worthy, through the affection and fidelity which they have borne this crown."—Henry IV., King of France.

THE Scots Men-at-arms took precedence of the whole *Gendarmerie* as they did at first when the fifteen ancient ordnance companies were founded in 1445, and with so much the more justice, as for some time they formed part of the bodyguard of Charles VII. and Louis XII.<sup>1</sup>

Though not forming part of the king's household, they took precedence of the musketeers belonging to the household troops.<sup>2</sup>

A general staff was attached to the company, whose captain marched at the head of the four companies in reviews as well as on service, and held supreme command over all colonels.<sup>3</sup>

The lieutenant ranked as first "maître de camp," and held command over all "maîtres de camp" of cavalry without regard to seniority.<sup>4</sup>

The men-at-arms were always of good lineage, as Chevalier Bayard affirmed to the Emperor Maximilian at the siege of Padua, which that sovereign and the French were then attacking. Maximilian proposed to the French commander to let his men-at-arms co-operate with the German lansquenets. Bayard objected to the proposal, inasmuch as no one could serve in the royal ordnance companies without being

<sup>1</sup> Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. i., p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Not without resistance. In the National Archives are yet preserved the remonstrances of the commander of the musketeers in that precedence had been granted to the Scots Men-at-arms (Archives Nationales, K.K. 598, fols. 69-73, ann. 1666).

<sup>3</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, vol. i., p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Recueil Cangé, Boite G. Lettre du Ministre.

well born. "If," said he, "the Emperor wished the men-at-arms of the ordnance companies to assault the town, let them fight by the side of their equals, and not with the lansquenets."<sup>1</sup>

Marshal de Montluc, in his "Commentaries," says that he served his first campaign as archer in the company of men-at-arms commanded by Marshal de Foix, and that many of the nobility served as archers. We see, moreover, by several ancient muster rolls, that among the archers serving with the men-at-arms there were many of gentle blood, and by a decree issued in 1575, Henry III. ordered that all the archers should be of noble family.<sup>2</sup>

#### ORGANISATION AND PRIVILEGES OF THE SCOTS GUARDS.

We must remark, in the first place, that the 24 archers, called "*Gardes de la Manche*,"<sup>3</sup> were established on the footing of men-at-arms before the date of Charles VII. This prince then appointed only a chief to these men-at-arms, and to him, as well as to each of the 24 archers, he gave five additional men, which formed a company of 124 men, and it existed thus until the reign of Francis I., who reduced the number to 100.

They were, even from their commencement, on a footing with the companies of men-at-arms, though called the company of the Archers of the Guard. The difference between the men-at-arms and the mounted archers consisted in the former being armed from head to foot, and in the latter carrying only a bow with arrows and javelins.

It would be unsafe to conclude that the archers were in any way inferior to the men-at-arms, and it will be readily seen that the nature of their duties and their constant attendance on the king, requiring as it necessarily did greater freedom of movement, precluded them from being completely armed.

<sup>1</sup> Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. i., pp. 155-171.

<sup>2</sup> S. Lamoral, *Le Pippre de Nœufville, Abrégé Chronologique . . . de l'état de la Maison du Roi*, vol. ii., p. 310, *et seq.* Liège, 1734, 3 vols. in 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Twenty-four of the senior Guards were called "*Gardes de la Manche*," because their special privilege was to be nearest the person of the King of France.

From first to last the Life-guards were both foot and horse soldiers. When they mounted guard in the palace they were on foot, when they accompanied the prince abroad they were mounted. They divided this honour with the *Cent Gentilshommes*. These marched immediately before the king, and the Scots Guards immediately after him, so that he was surrounded by the two guards.

The particular prerogatives of this company were granted to it by several warrants of the Kings of France on account of its origin and of its priority. In virtue of seniority it took precedence of the three other French companies of Life-guards, and the privilege of mustering the 24 "*Gardes de la Manche*," with the chief Man-at-arms, remained attached to it; and it is for this reason that in the principal royal ceremonies, such as the coronation of the kings, their entry into the towns, and their burials, the "*Gardes de la Manche*" always appeared conspicuous, and occupied the most prominent places.

Houston, one of the Scots Guards under Henry IV., in his "*Escosse Françoise*,"<sup>1</sup> printed in 1608, and dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of King James, informs us of the prerogatives granted to this company, and fixed by an edict of Henry IV., containing the following articles:

- I. That the captain of the Scots Guard shall always bear the title of first captain.
- II. That he shall stand nearest to the person of the king during the ceremony of coronation, and the robe shall belong to him after it is finished as his right and prerogative, even though he should not be on duty.
- III. That he shall receive from the king's hands the keys of the towns they enter as soon as they shall have been presented to the monarch, and in case of the said captain's absence the lieutenant shall receive them.
- IV. It was decreed in 1665 that the said keys should be handed over to the captain on duty in the first place, but only on

<sup>1</sup> Houston, *L'Escosse Françoise*. Paris, 1608, in 12mo.

condition that they were immediately delivered to the Scotch officers.

- V. That the company which is composed of 100 gentlemen or distinguished officers shall always have 25 guards on duty, wearing white surcoats covered with silver spangles, of whom six shall serve during each quarter of the year.

Under Louis XIV. only two stood near to the king during his coronation, at royal ceremonies, in church, at the reception of ambassadors, the touching for the king's evil, or the taking possession of towns; but at the royal funeral the Guards were all present, and they alone had the privilege of carrying the royal coffin from Paris to St Denis even into the vault, and no one else was permitted to touch it.

- VI. That the Scots on duty shall receive the keys from the archers of the gate who are on guard there during the night: this privilege has long been granted to them as a recognition of their fidelity.
- VII. That when the king is in church, they guard the entries as well as his immediate person. It is true that those of the three other companies who are on guard have the same right, but the Scots always take precedence, and the others follow according to their rank, and the keys are given to the Scotch brigadier.
- VIII. When the king is obliged to cross a river, the Scots Guard goes in advance to guard the ship appointed to receive His Majesty, and when the prince is on board, two of them are stationed beside him.
- IX. That they shall begin their guard the first day of the quarter, though they have been employed in other services.
- X. That they shall always have the preference in the choice of lodgings before the three other French companies of Life-guards when they are to be billeted together.
- XI. Finally, the said Scots Guards, as a sign of distinction and



in remembrance of the old league between France and Scotland, have the prerogative to bear on their weapons the fringed lace of silver and white silk and the royal coat of arms ; while the other companies of Life-guards bear on their weapons whatever different colours may be chosen by the royal monarch.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. Lamoral, *Le Pippre de Nœufville, Abrégé Chronologique et Historique* . . . vol. i., p. 1.

## CHAPTER II.

### COSTUME OF THE SCOTS GUARDS, AND DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

#### *The Entrance of Charles VII. into the City of Rheims.*

IN the "Cabinet des estampes" of the French National Library there is to be seen an engraving by Poinssart, entitled, "Engraving of a piece of tapestry executed two hundred years ago, representing the entrance of Charles VII. into the city of Rheims for his coronation, led by the Pucelle of Orleans."<sup>1</sup> Below are described the different personages forming the cavalcade. The Scots Guards are thus set forth: "R. Archers of the king's bodyguard, having on their jackets the name of the king—CHARLES."

According to tradition the tapestry was executed by order of Regnault de Chartres, Archbishop of Rheims, who consecrated Charles VII. A fragment of this interesting monument was still to be seen at Rheims in 1817, but it has unfortunately disappeared.<sup>2</sup>

Jean Hordal, a distinguished professor in the university of Pont-à-Mousson, and connected with the family of Joan of Arc, had a copy of the tapestry engraved in 1612, which is here reproduced.<sup>3</sup>

It is in many points most accurate. We know, for instance, from the royal accounts that Charles' complete armour consisted of a heavy harness which enclosed and covered the whole body. This was made

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des estampes, Histoire de France, Charles VII., No. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Lebarthais, Toiles peintes et Tapisseries de la ville de Rheims, p. xii. Paris, 1843, 2 vols. in 4to.

<sup>3</sup> It was inserted in "Heroinæ nobilissimæ Ioannæ Darc . . . Historia. Authore Ioanne Hordal . . ." Ponti-Mussi, 1612, in fol.

of iron, ornamented with silver and gold. His helmet was encircled with a coronet of gold, and surmounted with jewels and plumes. For the most part, however, the young prince rode with his face uncovered. He then wore a kind of cap made of felt or velvet, embroidered with gold. These helmets were usually covered with delicate work in gold, and generally carried by pages on foot (see letter E) carefully guarded in cases.<sup>1</sup>

## CHARLES VII.

*The Twelfth Night.*

In the beautiful Prayer-book executed by Jean Fouquet<sup>2</sup> for Estienne Chevalier, treasurer of Charles VII., one of the illuminations represents the adoration of the Magi. The portrait of Charles VII., inserted in Montfaucon's "*Monuments de la Monarchie Française*," was copied from this miniature. The artist, in fact, has painted one of the adoring kings after the likeness of Charles VII. The king, surrounded by his Scots Guards, is kneeling on a cushion in the middle of a carpet studded with fleurs-de-lis. The soldier bearing the lance with golden staff, standing by the king's side in the foreground of the illumination, is no doubt a portrait of the Captain of the Guard.

This carpet and cushion ornamented with fleurs-de-lis, on which the king who offers gold pieces to our Lord is kneeling, need cause no more surprise than the caps ornamented with the same device worn by the other two princes who offer incense and myrrh. The house of France was held as the first in the whole world, and its emblem the fleur-de-lis as the symbol of kingly authority. It cannot, then, be surprising that a French artist in the fifteenth century—in Joan of Arc's time—gave to the wise men the emblems of France. To him no other armorial bearings could bestow greater honour.

The castle in the distance illuminated by cressets, being defended

<sup>1</sup> Archives Nationales, K.K. 53, fol. 53, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Œuvre de Jean Fouquet. Paris, Curmer, 1866, 2 vols. in 4to.

by one party whilst another is attacking, is most probably a representation of one of the Twelfth Night amusements of the French Court. We know that moderation originally intended was not unfrequently overstepped, as was seen in the case of Francis I. himself. Having heard that in the house of the Comte de Saint-Pol a king had been chosen on Twelfth Night, he sent a herald to defy the newly-proclaimed monarch, and, accompanied by a troop of youthful courtiers, assaulted the mansion. Both the besiegers and besieged fought with snowballs, eggs, and apples. A great quantity of snow had fallen recently, and the assailants had plenty of ammunition; but it was not so with the beleaguered party. When they had expended their supply of missiles, and the besiegers were forcing an entrance, an impudent champion threw out of a window a burning log, which lighted on the king's head, and wounded him so dangerously that for several days his medical attendants almost despaired of saving his life, though the gallant prince would never allow inquiry to be made respecting the unlucky culprit, saying that it was partly his own fault, and he must put up with the consequences.<sup>1</sup> We may be allowed, however, to question the rights of Francis I. to the invention of this game. The accounts of Charles VII. inform us that it was introduced amongst the courtly revels before his time. In 1420, Charles, then Dauphin, kept the feast at Perreux in the house of John Trenier, and the receipt in due form still exists for fifty pounds *tournois* allowed by Charles to the said Trenier for damages caused in this house at which "my lord lodged on the Twelfth Night," etc.<sup>2</sup>

In our etching the banners on the three trumpets which summon the assaulters show by their blazonry that it is the king who leads the attack. The banners, decorated with fleurs-de-lis on the castle itself, would lead us to believe that the "king of the bean" has been put in

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires de Martin du Bellay, Coll. Petitot, vol. i., p. 286. The ill-starred combatant was no other than James Montgomery, Seigneur de Lorges, father of Gabriel Montgomery, who a few years later had the misfortune to kill Henry II. in a tournament.

<sup>2</sup> Cabinet des Titres. See Villebrême, Jan. 7, 1420.



REPRESENTATION AV NATVREL,  
HENRY III, ROY DE FRANCE ET DE





LE COMME LE ROY TRES-CHRESTIEN  
EN NAVARRE TOVCHE LES ESCROVELLES.







possession of the royal castle for that night, and empowered to hold it against all comers.<sup>1</sup>

The colours of the Guards' jackets are exactly those noticed by several contemporary historians at the entry of Charles VII. into Rouen in 1449. "In the first rank were the archers and crossbowmen of the king's bodyguard to the number of five or six score, more gorgeously clad than the rest. They were all clad in jackets without sleeves, of the colour of red, white, and green, covered with gold embroidery, with plumes in their helms of the same colours, and their swords and leg armour richly coated with silver."<sup>2</sup>

*A Crossbowman of the Scots Guards winding up the Bow.*

The bow was of steel, about two feet eight inches long, two inches wide in the centre, and half an inch thick.

Until the year 1455 the Scots Guard contained a certain number of crossbowmen, called *Cranequiniers*. The *Cranequin* was an improved crossbow. Charles VII. prided himself on his dexterity in its use, and always had one carried at his side when in the field.

*A Mace-Bearer and one of the Scots Guards repressing the Crowd.*

From a miniature by Jean Fouquet in the Munich Royal Library.

This form of the costume we give on the authority of Mr Quicherat,<sup>3</sup> the distinguished professor at the École des Chartes. But Vallet de Viriville and others believe it to represent one of the French Guards.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. C. Cahier, S.J., Commentary on Jean Fouquet's Miniatures; Œuvre de J. Fouquet.

<sup>2</sup> Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy, edited by de Beaucourt, vol. i., p. 235. Cf. Berry, Le recouvrement de Normandie, edited by Rev. J. Stevenson, p. 315 (Lond. 1863, in 8vo); Chronique de J. Chartier, ed. by Vallet, vol. ii., p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Quicherat, Histoire du Costume.

<sup>4</sup> Œuvre de Jean Fouquet, "Procès du Duc d'Alençon" in 1458.

## LOUIS XI.

*A Scots Guard under Louis XI.*

Drawn according to the description given in the accounts of  
the Royal Household.

No alteration seems to have been made in the costume of the Guards. We know from the royal accounts that the colours remained the same. In 1463, William Stayer, Captain of the Guard, bore "a jacket of three colours, without sleeves," with the royal emblem emblazoned upon it. This device was a Saint Michael conquering the devil. On his sallet he wore a plume made of twelve feathers, arranged like a cock's comb, of the king's colours—red, white, and green. These plumes were adorned with gold braid and pendant ornaments in gold and silver.

The 104 archers of the Guard bore jackets without sleeves, of three colours, with silver crowns. The 25 senior guards wore jackets adorned with silver work and with the king's device, St Michael, and gold crowns.<sup>1</sup>

We have not been able to discover any authentic design of a Scots Guard under Louis XI., but from the royal accounts just quoted their costume seems to have been very much the same as under Charles VII., perhaps a little plainer. Throughout his reign Louis XI. showed that he was not only averse to display, but that he was thoroughly determined to set his face against every kind of luxury. On seeing a military man enter his presence-chamber accoutred with the greatest elegance, and attired in a doublet of fine velvet, he asked his courtiers who the man was, and to whom he belonged. "Sire," was the reply, "he is a valiant knight of good family, and he is in your service." "*Pasques Dieu!*" exclaimed the king, "he is not, and shall never be, in my service. I renounce him. What the deuce possesses the man to make such an exhibition of himself? He is far smarter than I am."

<sup>1</sup> Archives Nationales, Paris, K.K., 65, fol. 99, 100, 102.

Thereupon he called the Marshal of France in attendance, and ordered him to strike the gentleman's name off the Muster Rolls, as he would have no such coxcombs in his service.<sup>1</sup>

## CHARLES VIII.

In 1487, the Captain of the Scots Guard was John Cunningham. The jacket which he bore over his armour was composed in front of crimson damask lined with black satin, and behind of buckram. He also wore a short cloak. His jacket was embroidered with two great crowns, one in front and one behind, encircled with wreaths of roses and rose branches. The whole was studded with golden and silver spangles and tassels. John Cunningham bore on his helmet "a plume of eighteen feathers, in the form of a bird's crest, of the king's colours, which were red, white, and green. These plumes were adorned with gold braid and pendant ornaments in gold." This costume was given to the Captain of the Scots Guards in April, 1487. The archers of this guard bore jackets without sleeves, made of stripes of crimson, green, and white, and embroidered collars of white and yellow. They carried a bow, and on the shoulder a quiver full of arrows barbed and feathered.<sup>2</sup>

## LOUIS XII.

*A Scots Guard under Louis XII.*

This miniature is taken from a precious manuscript in the National Library, and known by the name of "Révolution de Gênes."<sup>3</sup> The author, Jean Marot, was attached to the suit of the queen, Anne de

<sup>1</sup> Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume*, p. 292. Claude de Seyssel, a contemporary writer, defends Louis XI. on the ground that he thought fitting to discountenance by his example a scale of expenditure that weighed heavily on the national finances.

<sup>2</sup> Archives Nationales, KK. 73, fol. 156-158, 162, quoted by Jal, *Dictionnaire Critique*; *Le Cérémonial François*, vol. i., p. 677, in fol.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. No. 5091. Cf. Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume*, p. 349.

Bretagne, as secretary and poet, and was sent with Louis XII., in 1499, in his expedition against Milan and Genoa, charged by the queen to chronicle the conquest of the north of Italy. This he did in verse, and the miniature which we give is taken from the very manuscript which the poet presented to the queen. We also read in the Memoirs of Marshal de Fleuranges that the Life-guards were distinguished from the others by white surcoats adorned with a crown and covered with gold work ;<sup>1</sup> but according to Jean Marot's manuscript, his device, a porcupine, was also blazoned upon it.

*Les Cent Gentilshommes.*

On the 4th of September, 1474, Louis XI. formed a new company of 100 guardsmen, to which none were admitted save such as were well-trying soldiers, and could furnish undeniable proof of good descent. The command of this guard was given to Archambault Kniston (or Criston), *Cousin du Roi d'Écosse*, and it was called *Les Cent Gentilshommes*.

Their duties were to guard the king's person—an honour which they divided with the Scots Guards. These marched immediately after the king, and the *Cent Gentilshommes* immediately after, so that he was surrounded by the two guards.

In the few Muster Rolls of this guard now extant may be noticed the following Scotch names :

Archambault Kniston or Criston, *Cousin du Roi d'Écosse*, Blanchet Stewart d'Aubigny, Robert Montgomery, Alexander Monipeny, Alexandre de Brus, *Chevalier*, Eberard Stewart, James Montgomery, Gavaron Stewart (1550), Peter Cunningham, Gabriel Montgomery (1551), John Gordon de Longormes, Jehan Douglas (1580), John Gordon of Glenluce, Esme Stewart d'Aubigny, Robert Douglas, Seigneur de Colville (1594-1602).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires du Maréchal de Fleuranges, Coll. Petitot, vol. xvi., p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS., Clairambault, No. 817, fols. 127, 813 ; MS. 7998, 7853.

The beautiful miniatures of the *Voyage de Gênes* represent the *Cent Gentilshommes* richly dressed, each according to his colour, with plumes adorned with golden spangles. As a distinctive badge they bore on their coats and on the caparisons of their horses the crowned porcupine, which, with the words "*Cominus et minus*," formed the device of Louis XII. With the exception of this emblem, their dress was exactly like that of the Men-at-arms. Their standard was of yellow and red, with a St Michael on a field charged with porcupines.

When doing service on foot, they bore on their shoulders a halberd with a hooked blade or *Bec de corbin*, and wore the costume which is here reproduced from Montfaucon's "*Monuments de la Monarchie Française*."<sup>1</sup>

## FRANCIS I.

*A Scots Guard in Gala Dress under Francis I.*

This plate is taken from a miniature executed at the time. The tunic is fashioned of yellow, blue, and rose-coloured stuff; the vest of silver mail, with the royal salamander embroidered in gold.<sup>2</sup> At the entry of Francis I. into Paris in 1515, the 24 Scots Life-guards who figured in that ceremony were all on foot carrying halberds. They wore white cloth jackets covered with gold embroidery, white hose, and sallets with white plumes. Their captain, Stewart d'Aubigny, marched at their head, accoutred with a jacket of white cloth with the salamander embroidered before and behind, surmounted by a great crown of silver-gilt.<sup>3</sup>

The miniature which we reproduce represents a Scots Guard in ceremonial dress. One hand is on the hilt of his sword, the other holds the halberd. He seems to be awaiting the passage of the king; his hose and white shoes show that he is in state dress. Certain ornaments embroidered in gold on the front of his black felt hat, and the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv., p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Gaignières Collection. Reproduced by Montfaucon, *Monuments de la Monarchie Française*, vol. iv., p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> Godefroy, *Cérémonial Français*, p. 266. Godefroy forgets to mention that the king's motto, "*Nutresco et extinguo*," was also embroidered on the jacket.

branching feathers which surmount it, would also lead to the presumption that he is not in ordinary uniform, but in gala dress.<sup>1</sup>

Cavendish, in his describing the interview between Francis I. and Cardinal Wolsey at Amiens in 1526, says: "Then, within two hours after, the king came into the town with a great shot of guns and divers pageants, made for the nonce at the king's *bien-venue*; having about his person both before him and behind him, besides the wonderful number of noblemen and gentlemen, three great guards diversely apparelled. The first was of Burgonyons, with guns and haversacks. The second was of Frenchmen some with bows and arrows, and some with bills. The third guard was *pour le corps*, which was of tall Scots, much more comelier persons than all the rest." Their livery "was rich coats of fine white cloth, with a guard of silver bullion embroidered an handful broad."<sup>2</sup>

#### FRANCIS I.

##### *A Mounted Scots Guard.*

The mounted guard has been drawn from the bas-reliefs of the Hôtel de Bourg-Théroulde at Rouen, which were reproduced by Montfaucon.<sup>3</sup>

#### HENRY II.

##### *Archers of the Scots Guard in 1559, from Contemporary Engravings by Perissim.<sup>4</sup>*

There was but little change in the organisation or equipment of the troops forming the king's bodyguard during the reign of Henry II. Their dress had followed somewhat the civil fashion, and the device of the reigning king had been substituted for the salamander of Francis I.

<sup>1</sup> G. Duplessis, *Histoire du Costume au XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, vol. i., p. 50. Paris, 1867, 2 vols. in 4to.

<sup>2</sup> G. Cavendish, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, vol. i., pp. 98, 99. London, 1825, 2 vols. in 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Montfaucon, *Monuments de la Monarchie Française*, vol. iv., pl. xxx. Cf. Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume*, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume*; Bibliothèque Nationale, Recueil Fontanieu, p. 257.

The colours of Henry II. were black and white, and his device a crescent montant of silver, with the legend "*Donec totum compleat orbem.*" This crescent and legend were emblazoned on three white standards borne in the royal train at his entry into Rouen, 1551.

## DEATH OF HENRY II.

*From a Contemporary Engraving.*

In the grand tournament which was held on the 29th of June, 1659, Henry was mortally wounded by Montgomery. He was carried to the Château des Tournelles, where he expired on the 10th of July.

## FRANCIS II.

Two devices of Francis II. are known: a burning pillar with the legend "*Lumen rectis,*" and a flaming sword between two globes celestial and terrestrial, with the legend "*Unus non sufficit orbis.*"<sup>1</sup> This device was most likely embroidered on the Scots Guards' dress.

## CHARLES IX.

*A Scots Guard under Charles IX.*

This plate is taken from a contemporary engraving representing the Conference at Poissy in 1561.

There had been little change in the costume of the archers of the guard since the time of Henry II. It was still the white jacket spangled with silver and embroidered with the king's emblem.<sup>2</sup>

Charles IX. took for his emblem two pillars, one representing Piety, the other Justice, with the motto, "*Pietate et justitia.*"<sup>3</sup> Until 1570 his colours were pink, white, and blue. In that year he changed them to yellow, grey, and green.<sup>4</sup>

At court their weapon was the halberd, but in the field they were mounted, and carried short pikes, and were equipped like the archers of the ordnance companies.

<sup>1</sup> Desjardins, *Recherches sur les Drapeaux Français*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. ii., p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Jal, *Dictionnaire Critique*, p. 493.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 438.

## HENRY III.

*A Scots Guard under Henry III.*

The Scots Archers continued to bear the jacket of white cloth spangled with silver-gilt.

Henry's emblem was three crowns—one for the kingdom of Poland, which he had worn, one for France, the third for the celestial crown he wished to attain, as witnessed by his motto "*Manet ultima cælo.*"

By an ordinance of the 11th of August, 1578, the archers of the bodyguard were all enjoined to bear like arms, that is to say, halberds when on foot, pistols and javelins when mounted. They were never to quit the white jacket, nor cover it with a mantle except when it was raining. In each of the companies there were only four archers exempted from this rule, "*francs de hoquetons et hallebardes,*"<sup>1</sup> chosen from the most ancient and renowned archers of the said companies. The archers who mounted guard at night where the king slept were always to wear a coat of mail.<sup>2</sup>

We here reproduce an engraving inserted by Montfaucon in his "*Monuments.*"<sup>3</sup>

## HENRY IV.

*The Touching for the King's Evil.—One of the Scots Guards standing near His Majesty.*<sup>4</sup>

Coryat, who visited the court of Fontainebleau in 1608, says of the 100 Scots: "These are archers and arquebushers on horseback. The archers of the garde of the body weare long-skirted halfe-sleeved coates made of white cloth, but their skirts mingled with red and

<sup>1</sup> They were called "*Exempts aux Gardes.*"

<sup>2</sup> Ordonnance de Blois 1576 and Ordonnance de 1578, "*Sur le fait des Gardes.*"

<sup>3</sup> Montfaucon, *Monuments de la Monarchie Française*, vol. v., p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Recueil Cangé, liv. 35, 23 C., fols. xix., xxi.







*Neveu de tant de Rois qui vivent dans les Cieux, Qu'ainsi le Saint Esprit*  
*O Trezieme LOYYS! espoir de nos Prouinces! Comme ce divin Huile en*  
*Que ceste abne liqueur, rare present des Dieux, Confirme son amour d*  
*Infuse en ton esprit les Vertus des grands Princes Que jusque au plus haut*





Thomas de Leu sculp.

*tousiours dedans ton cœur* *Divin Oint du Seigneur le Fleur de l'Univers*  
*ry montre sa gloire :* *Héritier glorieux du plus grand Roy du Monde !*  
*ou amour si vainqueur* *Que tousiours tes Palmiers et tes Lauriers soient Vers,*  
*iel en luisse la Victoire.* *Et que tousiours ta France à tes souhaicts responde III.*



greene, and the bodies of the cotes trimmed before and behind with mayles of plaine silver."<sup>1</sup>

In the engraving here reproduced the jacket is adorned with a club of Hercules, surrounded with the cognizance of Henry IV., "*Hæc quoque cognita monstis.*"

The device of Henry IV., besides alluding to his courage and to the severe struggles he went through to gain and sustain his throne, has also a fabulous side. It is well known that in the sixteenth century learned men and poets, to flatter their patrons, sought fabulous genealogies for them, tracing their families to the classical gods. Thus, the "*Franciade*" of Ronsard gives us as the founder of the royal House of France, *Francus*, son of Hector. A similar fiction traces the kings of Navarre to Hercules.<sup>2</sup>

*The Epitaph of a Commander of the Scots Guards.*<sup>3</sup>

"CY GIST SAMUEL DE FORBOYS,<sup>4</sup> ESCUYER, EN SON VIVANT, SEIGNEUR DE PRESLES ET DE VILLIERS-LE-BACLE EN PARTIE ET PREMIER HOMME D'ARMES DE FRANCE, COMMENDANT EN LA GARDE ESCOSSOISE DU CORPS DU ROY, QUI DÉCÉDA LE CINQ D'OCTOBRE 1590.

*"Que Dieu luy fasse miséricorde."*

Thomas de Forboys, who appears on the muster rolls of the Scots Guards as lieutenant in 1589, bought the estate and lordship of Villiers-le-Bâcle in 1586.<sup>5</sup> We miss the muster rolls corresponding to the period during which Samuel de Forboys served in the Guards and reached the rank of "First Man-at-arms of France."

"The services and origin of the First Man-at-arms," says Le Pippre, "are too curious and too little known to be passed over without especial notice. Charles VII. having formed, in 1445, fifteen com-

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's Crudities, reprinted from the edition of 1611, vol. i., p. 41. Lond. 1766, 3 vols. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Favyn, Théâtre d'Honneur, 1620, vol. ii., p. 1865.

<sup>3</sup> Copied from the Gaignières Collection in the National Library.

<sup>4</sup> FORBES.

<sup>5</sup> Histoire du Diocèse de Paris, per l'Abbé Leboeuf, vol. viii., p. 503.

panies of men-at-arms into ordnance companies, appointed also for each a First Man-at-arms, and as at the same time he formed another corps, consisting of 100 horsemen, to be the especial guard of his person, there is every probability that he put these men on a footing with an ordnance company. A palpable proof of this is his having established in the same manner a First Man-at-arms ; but because the companies destined for his bodyguard could not carry the same arms on account of the nature of their service, these 100 men, keeping their bows and arrows, bore the name of the archers of the Scots Guards. This was an honourable distinction, which shows us the rank of this First Man-at-arms, who must have ranked immediately after Captain and Lieutenant. For this reason he bore the title of First Man-at-arms of France, and as such his name is inscribed in the most ancient rolls after these two officers. . . .

“ The functions of this First Man-at-arms also prove the importance of the office he held. On the day of a battle the king gave him a horse, and he commanded a certain number of the Guard on his right hand and on his left. It once happened in the reign of Henry IV. that during an engagement the lieutenant of the company was killed, when immediately the king, satisfied with the service and pleased with the person of the First Man-at-arms, named Forbois, gave him the leadership of the company.”<sup>1</sup>

The white scarf was the distinctive badge of the guard of Henry IV., and remained so even after his death.<sup>2</sup>

#### LOUIS XIII.

##### *The Coronation of Louis XIII. at Rheims on the 17th of October, 1610.*<sup>3</sup>

The Scots Guards are easily distinguished by the crown embroidered on their white jacket.

<sup>1</sup> Le Pippre de Nœufville, *Abrégé Chronologique*, . . . vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> D. Marlot, *Le Théâtre d'Honneur*, p. 523.

<sup>3</sup> This sketch is taken from an engraving in the Cabinet des estampes.

## LOUIS XIV., LOUIS XV., AND LOUIS XVI.

*Costume of the Scots Guards under Louis XIV., Louis XV., and Louis XVI.*

Under Louis XIV., and up to the last days of the French monarchy, the Scots Guards always wore the same dress. This consisted of a close-fitting jacket, and over this a corslet (*hoqueton*) embroidered with gold on a white ground. Louis XIV.'s cognizance was a sun darting its rays on the world, with the motto "*Nec pluribus impar*."<sup>1</sup> They were armed with a sword, which they bore at the side, and a partisan,<sup>2</sup> the staff studded with golden nails, and fringe dependent from the head: this they bore in the right hand.

The present sketch is taken from the "*Sacre de Louis XV.*," a gorgeous volume, which contains a series of large pictures representing the various stages of the coronation, and followed by full dress and full length portraits of the various high officers who figured in the ceremony.

The distinctive colour of the Scots Guards was white, "and," says General Susanne, "it was the sign of the authority which their captain exercised over the other companies of the Royal Guard. Their shoulder-belt was white, or wholly of silver. Their standards and bannerols<sup>3</sup> were white, embroidered with silver; the housings alone were red, but bordered with silver."<sup>4</sup>

## LOUIS XVIII. AND CHARLES X.

*The last Scots Guards.*

This sketch is taken from the "Coronation of Charles X.," by Lancrenon.

<sup>1</sup> When Louis XIV. took the sun for his emblem, the Dutch ambassador, Josué Van Buninghem, had the impertinence to have a medal struck representing himself, with the sun above his hand, and the legend—" *Conspectu meo stetit sol*."

<sup>2</sup> There is a beautiful specimen of the partisan of the guard of Louis XIV., A.D. 1666, in Meyrick's "Engraved Illustrations of Antient Armour," vol. ii., pl. LXXXIX.

<sup>3</sup> The little fringed silk flag that hangs on a trumpet.

<sup>4</sup> General Susanne, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, vol. i., p. 214.

LOUIS XIV.

*The Scots Men-at-Arms (Gendarmes Écossais).*

From a Painting by Van der Meulen.

"THE SURRENDER OF VALENCIENNES ON THE 16TH OF MARCH 1677."

The coat was red with silver buttons, the cuffs and lapels red, bordered with silver. The hat was bordered with silver, and the cockade white; the shoulder-belt and bannerols of yellow silk with silver embroidery.<sup>1</sup>

*The Standards of the Scots Guards and Scots Men-at-arms.*

At the time of the entry of Charles VIII. into Troyes in 1486, the Scots Guards bore a standard more than six feet long of red, white, and green cloth, on which was depicted St Michael and a sun in glory, the whole field studded with the sun's rays all in gold.<sup>2</sup>

At the triumphal entry of Louis XII. into Milan, his guard bore his standard of red and yellow, with his device, a porcupine. His motto, "*Cominus et eminus*," was also emblazoned upon it.<sup>3</sup>

In the account of the funeral of Francis I. we find a description of the standards of the Scots Guards: "Furnished thirty-three yards of violet, yellow and deep red taffety, to make six ensigns, namely, two for the two hundred *Gentilshommes* of the late king's household, and four others for the four bands of Scotch and French archers of the bodyguard."<sup>4</sup>

In 1610 the Scots Guards had red ensigns.

<sup>1</sup> Lemeau de la Jaisse, Carte Générale de la Monarchie, fol. 4. Paris, 1733, in fol.

<sup>2</sup> Archives Nationales, K.K. 73, fols. 149, 150; Th. Godefroy, Le Cérémonial de France, vol. i., p. 677.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS., fr., 5089, 1st miniature; Th. Godefroy, Le Cérémonial de France, pp. 57, 65.

<sup>4</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS., fr., 10,392, fol. 279.



Father Daniel gives the following account of their standard under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV.: "The standard of the brigade commanded by the first ensign is longer than broad, and cleft at the end. I cannot give any reason for this difference unless it be that such was the form when it was first instituted, and that as a mark of antiquity it is still preserved. The colour of the standard is the same as that of the shoulder-belt; thus that of the Scotch company is always white.<sup>1</sup>

"The Scots Men-at-arms have for the device on their standard a greyhound running on a plain surrounded with trees, and the legend, '*In omni modo fidelis.*' This is to represent that attachment and fidelity which the Scots have ever shown towards our kings."<sup>2</sup>

*Lord James Douglas.*

This sketch has been drawn from the monument erected to the memory of Lord James Douglas in the church of St Germain-des-Prés in Paris.

*Royal Écossais.*

The soldiers composing the first company of this regiment wore the Highland dress.

The others wore a blue coat and waistcoat, red Scotch collar and cuffs, white small clothes, cross pockets with three buttons, silver braid and buttons on hat.

<sup>1</sup> Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. ii., p. 107. The standards of the body-guard were looked upon as royal insignia. At the funeral of Louis XIII. they were placed on the coffin along with the crown, the sceptre, and the hand of justice (Desjardins, *Recherches sur les Drapeaux*, p. 103).

<sup>2</sup> Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. ii., p. 183.



## **PART III.**

### **CHAP. I.**

**LISTS AND MUSTER ROLLS OF MEN-AT-ARMS.**

### **CHAP. II.**

**LISTS AND MUSTER ROLLS OF LIFE-GUARDS.**













## CHAPTER I.

### LISTS AND MUSTER ROLLS OF MEN-AT-ARMS.

#### CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE.—FIRST CONTINGENT.

1416. Ouden Morisson.<sup>1</sup>
1418. Michiel de Normanville, "capitaine d'Archiers d'Escosse et vingt-neuf autres archiers de sa compagnie receus au siège devant Tours le neuf-viesme jour de Décembre l'an 1418."<sup>2</sup>
- do. Jehan Stewart, "Escuier du pays d'Escosse, capitaine d'Archers à cheval retenu par lettres du 7 Octobre 1418 à Nyort."<sup>3</sup>
1419. Guillaume Flocart, "escuier et dix-sept autres escuiers de sa chambre receus à Beauvais-sur-Yeure le 27<sup>e</sup> jour d'Août l'an 1419."<sup>4</sup>
- do. Jehan Libourne (Lorne or Lourne).  
"Je Jehan Libourne, "escuier du pays d'Escosse confesse avoir reçu de Hamon Raguier trésorier des guerres du roy notre Sire la somme de 310 livres tourn. . . . sur les gages de *dix-huit hommes d'armes et de 56 archiers* à cheval du dit pays d'Escosse de ma compagnie pour aller où il plaira à Mons. le régent d'ordonner en la c<sup>ie</sup> de Mons. de Narbonne et sous le gouvernement de Monseigneur le Régent . . . le dernier jour de May, l'an 1419."<sup>5</sup>
- do. Guill<sup>e</sup> Bel . . . "du pays d'Escosse" . . . et sa "compagnie . . . soubz la conduite de Monseigneur le Régent du nombre et reteneue de xxx hommes d'armes et iiij<sup>xx</sup> hommes de trait parlui a moy ordonnez . . . le 30<sup>e</sup> jour de May l'an mil quatre cent dix-neuf."<sup>6</sup>
1419. Messire Guillaume Douglas, chevalier, retenu à CL hommes d'armes et iiij<sup>e</sup> archiers du pays d'Ecosse par lettres du 27 May 1419 . . . au Puiset en Beausse le 26 aoust 1419.  
Mess. Thomas de Kilpatritz, cheval<sup>r</sup>, x esc. xx archers du pays d'Ecosse.

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Bretagne, vol. ii., col. 910.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 7858, fond français, fol. 346, 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Cabinet des Titres, No. 684.

<sup>4</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 7858, fol. 360.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Clair, Titres scellés, fol. 5027, Sceaux, vol. 65.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Pièces originales, vol. 266.

- Wil. Fresal, Esc. x autres xx archers d'Escosse.  
 Jehan Tod, Esc. x autres xx archers do.  
 Thomas Cnygain (Cunningham), Esc. x autres xx archers d'Escosse.  
 Jehan Ofbe (Ofur), Esc. x autres xx archers do.  
 David Fleming, Esc. x autres xx archers do.  
 Jon of Meldrum, Esc. x autres xx archers do.  
 Andry de Meldrum, Esc. x autres xx archers do.  
 Alexandre de Alexandry, Esc. xiiij autres xxx archers d'Escosse receus à  
 Montereau-fault-Yonne le 4<sup>e</sup> jour de Septembre 1419.  
 Girault d'Espench, Escuier et dix autres escuiers receus à Sourdon, près  
 Aubigny le 29<sup>e</sup> jour de Septembre 1419.<sup>1</sup>  
 1419. Thomas de Seton.—“Au voyage que Mons. le Régent fait à Meleun et ou pays  
 d'environ. Thomas de Seton, esc. d'Escurie de mons. le Dauphin pour le dit  
 voyage et distribuer à son frère, xxxviii hommes d'armes et vi<sup>xx</sup> archers.”<sup>2</sup>  
 do. Pierre Gordon, Ecuyer.  
 do. Jean Seton, archer.  
 do. François Moreton, arbalétrier.<sup>3</sup>  
 do. William Lumisden, Ecuyer Escossois, receu à Hesdin, sous Robert Pittulo  
 (Pittiloch or Pattiloch).<sup>4</sup>

THE SECOND CONTINGENT UNDER THE COMMAND OF JOHN EARL OF BUCHAN, SIR JOHN  
 STEWART OF DARNLEY, AND ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, DUKE OF TOURAINE.

Archibald Douglas, second Earl of Douglas, Duke of Touraine; Sir William  
 Stewart; Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wigtown;<sup>5</sup> Sir Thomas Seton;  
 Alexander Lindsay, brother of the Earl of Crawford;<sup>6</sup> Sir Henry Cun-  
 ninghame, third son of Sir William of Kilmaurs;<sup>7</sup> Sir Robert Houston;<sup>8</sup>  
 Sir Gilbert Kennedy, son of Sir John Kennedy of Dunure, who died in  
 the French service without issue; Sir Hew Kennedy of Ardstinchar,  
 second son of Sir John of Dunure; Sir Alexander Buchanan of that ilk;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres, MS. 684. Cf. Fond français, MS. 7858, fol. 361.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, MSS. 684, 685; Gaignières, MS. 781.

<sup>3</sup> Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'Histoire de Bretagne, vol. ii., cols. 1005, 1011, 1012.

<sup>4</sup> *Analecta Scotica*, 2d series, p. 35. <sup>5</sup> *Historians of Scotland*, Book of Pluscarden, bk. x., p. 265.

<sup>6</sup> *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, Camden Society, 1880, p. 164.

<sup>7</sup> *Fordun à Goodall*, *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv., p. 461.

<sup>8</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres, MS. 684.

<sup>9</sup> *Historical Account of the Noble Family of Kennedy*, by R. Pitcairn, pp. 18, 80. Edinb. 1830, in 4to.

Maurice Macausland, laird of Buchanan, kinsman to Sir John Stewart of Darnley; Sir John Swinton of Swinton, and of that ilk; Sir John Carmichael of that ilk;<sup>1</sup> Sir Alexander Macausland, a knight of the Lennox; John Smale of Aberdeen; Sir John Sibbald; Sir Robert Stewart of Railston;<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood;<sup>3</sup> Sir Alexander Forbes, with forty men-at-arms and their followers;<sup>4</sup> Thomas Swinton;<sup>5</sup> Sir William Seton, only son of Sir John Seton of Seton;<sup>6</sup> Sir Patric Ogilby;<sup>7</sup> Pringle of Whitebank;<sup>8</sup> Gilbert de la Haye; Sir David Hamilton; Cristin Chambre; William Hamilton;<sup>9</sup> Alexander de Norwil;<sup>10</sup> Laurence Vernor, who received the lands of Montreuil Bonnin as ransom for the Earl of Somerset;<sup>11</sup> Sir John Carmichael.<sup>12</sup>

1421. Guillaume Estuart, "escuyer, et dix-sept écuyers de sa c<sup>ie</sup> reveue à La Rochefoucault le 20<sup>e</sup> jour de Novembre, l'an 1421."<sup>13</sup>
- Decem., Guillaume de Douglas, "Chevalier du pays d'Escosse, pour avoir amené
- 1422-23. du dit pays d'Escosse C hommes d'armes et ij<sup>e</sup> archers:
- Messire Guillaume Haynault, "chevalier escossois, pour aller en Normandie en la C<sup>ie</sup> de Mons. le Comte d'Aumale, iij<sup>e</sup> lt."
- Messire David Hamilton, Chevalier du pays d'Escosse Id.
- Michiel de Normanville, Escuyer, Capitaine Escossois „
- Messire Thomas Vavan, Chevalier, Capitaine du pays d'Escosse, pour aller en Guyenne, en la C<sup>ie</sup> du Seigneur de Torsay.
- Guill<sup>e</sup> Hameton, Esc. Capit. à xxv hommes d'armes xv archers.
- Cristin Chambre, Esc. Capit. à vii hommes d'armes xxi archers.
- Gilbert de la Haye, Esc. Capit. à vi hommes d'armes xviii archers.<sup>14</sup>
1423. *Killed at the battle of Crevant*.—Sir . . . Davidson, Sir William Forrester, Sir Thomas Seton, Sir Thomas Colleville,<sup>15</sup> Sir Coquart Cameron, Sir William Coningham, Sir Alexander Hume, Guille Douglaz, escuier,

<sup>1</sup> Wood, Baronage, p. 129; Peerage, vol. i., p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Historians of Scotland, vol. x., pp. 267, 268.

<sup>3</sup> Fraser, History of the Maxwells of Pollock, vol. i., p. 463. Edinb. 1863, 2 vols. 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Wood, Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 590. Cf. Rotuli Scotiæ, ii., pp. 228, 229.

<sup>5</sup> Wood, Baronage, vol. i., p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> Wood, Peerage, vol. ii., p. 642.

<sup>7</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 20,684, fol. 546.

<sup>8</sup> Wood, Baronage, vol. ii., p. 209.

<sup>9</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres, MS. 684.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, fond français, MS. 20,684, fol. 541.

<sup>11</sup> Teulet, Inventaire Chronologique, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>12</sup> Wood, Peerage, vol. i., p. 752.

<sup>13</sup> A. Stewart, Genealogical History of the Stewarts, p. 120.

<sup>14</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres, MS. No. 684.

<sup>15</sup> Letter of the Earl of Suffolk, in the Collection Godefroy, MS. 512, fol. 82.

Sir William Lysle, Sir William Craford, Sir George Lysle, Sir John Rutherford, Sir de Saint Johneston, Sir Robert Lysle, Sir John Tournebull.<sup>1</sup>

1424. *Killed at the battle of Verneuil.*—Sir Walter de Bekirtoune, Le Conte de Wyghton, Sir William de Setoune, only son of Sir John Seton of Seton, Sir Richert de Bekirtoune, Sir Henry Bekirtoune, gouverneur des archers Escossois; Alexander Bekirtoune,<sup>2</sup> Sir Alexander Meldryn, Sir Henry Balglave, Sir John Sterlyng, Sir William Homeldon, Sir Robert Kaneday,<sup>3</sup> Sir James Graie, Sir Robert Randen, Sir John Haliburton,<sup>4</sup> Comes de Marre, Comes de Murrey, Alexander Lyndesay, miles,<sup>5</sup> Sir Alexander Buchanan,<sup>6</sup> Pringle of Whitebank.<sup>7</sup>

1424. Pour la garde de Loches :

Wastre Lacquin, Chevalier du pays d'Escosse.

Alain Forly, Escuier du dit pays.

Bouzon de Fages, do.<sup>8</sup>

1425. Cristin Chambre, Esc. du pays d'Escosse, Capitaine de xiii hommes d'armes et de xx archers, par lettres du 8 juillet 1425.

Robert Houston, Homme d'armes.<sup>9</sup>

Thomas Moras, escuier et vingt-neuf autres escuiers de sa chambre et reteneue reçue à Carcassone ce premier jour de mars l'an 1425.<sup>10</sup>

#### SCOTCH TROOPS ENGAGED IN THE DEFENCE OF ORLEANS.

Sir John Stewart of Darnley "avec quatre cens hommes fort vaillans," Sir William Stewart.

#### *Le fait de l'advitaillement et Secours sur les Anglois de la ville d'Orliens.*

Aux capitaines et chiefs de guerre cy après nommez la somme de dix-neuf cens quatre vingt dix-neuf escus d'or, et trois mil cent vingt-quatre livr es quinze sols tournois qui ou mois de Septembre mil quatre

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MS. 782, fol. 51. Cf. Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> Additicioun of Scottis Corniklis and Deidis, p. 23. Edit. by Th. Thomson, 1819, in 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Harleian MS. 782.

<sup>4</sup> Genealogical Memorial of the Haliburtons, by Ch. Rogers, p. 17. Lond. 1877, in 8vo. Cf. Holinshed.

<sup>5</sup> Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, p. 164. Camden Society, 1880.

<sup>6</sup> Book of Pluscarden, pp. xxv., xxviii.

<sup>7</sup> Douglas, Peerage, edit. by Wood, p. 209.

<sup>8</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 20,684, fol. 546, *et seq.*

<sup>9</sup> Cabinet des Titres, MS. 684.

<sup>10</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 25,767, No. 137.

cens vingt-huit . . . leur a esté payée et baillée ès Villes d'Orliens et de Chinon. . . .

C'est assavoir. . . .

à Messire Jehan Wishart, Chevalier du pays d'Escoce, sur le paiement de lui et de quarante huit hommes d'armes et cent cinq Archers de sa compagnie, . . . . II<sup>e</sup>l escus et xx<sup>ii</sup> xv<sup>e</sup> tourn.  
 A lui pour deux plattes et une capeline qui luy furent délivrées à Blois, . . . . xxxix escus.  
 à Thomas Blar, Escuier du pays d'Escoce, sur le payement de vingt hommes d'armes et vingt-neuf archiers, . . . Lxvii escus et lv<sup>e</sup> tourn.  
 à Alexandre Norvil, Escuier du dict pays d'Escoce sur le payement de quinze hommes d'armes et vingt-neuf archiers, . . . xlxvi escus et viii<sup>ii</sup> tourn.  
 à David Malleville, Escuier du dict pays sur le payement de douze hommes d'armes et vingt-huit archiers, . . . xl escus et viij<sup>ii</sup> tourn.  
 à Messire Thomas Houston, Chevalier du dict pays d'Escoce sur le paiement de vingt-deux hommes d'armes et de soixante et onze archiers, la somme de . . . . cviii escus et xxj<sup>ii</sup> tourn.  
 à Henry Galoys, Escuier du dict pays pour et au nom de Guillaume Hameton, d'ice luy pays, p<sup>r</sup> le paiement de dix hommes d'armes et trente archiers, . . . . Lxii escus et xxx<sup>e</sup> tourn.  
 à Donad de Lynaux, Escuier du dict pays d'Escoce, sur le payement de luy, quarante deux hommes d'armes et cviii archiers, . . . III<sup>e</sup>° xxiiij<sup>ii</sup> tourn.<sup>1</sup>  
 Dñus Guglielmus de Douglas, D<sup>nu</sup>s de Dumlangreyo.  
 D<sup>nu</sup>s Gulielmus de Douglas, D<sup>nu</sup>s de Kyrrros.<sup>2</sup>  
 A Messire Jehan Wichart, Chevalier du pays d'Escoce capitaine de certain nombre de gens d'armes et de trait du dit pays la somme de 370 livres tourn. . . .  
 Au mois d'Octobre 1428 en la ville de Chinon, . . . 20<sup>ii</sup> tourn.  
 . . . en la ville de Tours, . . . 50<sup>ii</sup> tourn.  
 qui lui fut envoyée ou mois de Novembre . . . à Orliens où il estoit, et depuis fut à la garde, seurté et défense d'icelle ville à l'encontre des anciens ennemis du Roy, nostre dict seigneur, les Anglois 300<sup>ii</sup> tournois.<sup>3</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 7858, fond français, fol. 41; Extraict du compte de M<sup>e</sup> Hémon Raguiet, trésorier des guerres du Roy depuis le 1<sup>er</sup> mars 1424 jusques au dernier septembre 1433.

<sup>2</sup> Annales Ecclesiae Aurelianensis a Carolo Sausseyo, p. 586. Parisiis, 1615, in fol.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 7858, fol. 42, 8vo.

Le fait des secours sur les Anglois de la ville d'Orléans, aux capitaines et chefs de guerre cy après nommez.

à Messire Patin d'Ogilby, Vicomte d'Angus au pays d'Escosse, Chevalier  
. . . sur le payement de soixante hommes d'armes et trois cents  
archers du dict pays, . . . . . xiii<sup>e</sup> Lxx<sup>n</sup> tourn.

"Dominus Patricius Ogilby effectus est constabularius Scotorum in Francia, magnificé apud regem et regnicolas appretiatus; qui apud Santlice, uno die novem Scotos generosos balteo militari præcinxit, viz.: Alexandrum Berkley, et Laurentium Vernor, Walterum Lesly, Joannem Turnbole, Willelmum Rossy, Thomam Lovale, Gilbertum de Hay, et Nicholaum King. Sed tandem, ad mandatum regis Scotiæ, domum reversurus, in mari periit apud Penmark in le coste de Bretanze. Qui fuit acer ingenio, clarus eloquio, virilis animo, et omni morum probitate conspicuus atque fidus."<sup>1</sup>

à Messire Jean Criston, gouverneur de Chastillon, sur le payement de viii  
hommes d'armes et de xvj archiers du dict pays d'Escoce, . . . xc<sup>n</sup> tourn.

January A David Malleville, escuyer du pays d'Escoce, sur le payement de luy, de  
1429. cinquante hommes d'armes et de trente-deux hommes de traict, iij<sup>e</sup> lxxvj<sup>n</sup>  
tournois.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Hugh Kennedy d'Ardstinchar.<sup>3</sup>

"Noms des Seigneurs, chefs et capitaines de guerre, qui accompagnèrent le roy Charles VII. au voyage par luy fait à Rheims, au mois de juillet 1429 pour le fait de son sacre et couronnement.

"Extrait du 13<sup>e</sup> et dernier compte de Hémon Raguier."

Messire Patrice d'Ohilby, v<sup>te</sup> d'Angus en Escosse.

Messire Christin de la Chambre, chevalier Escossois.

Messire Gilbert de la Haye, do. do.

Messire Jehan Oulchart, do. do.

Messire Wastre Lecque, do. do.

Pierre de Giresme, escossois.

<sup>1</sup> Goodall, Joannis Forduni Scotichronicon, vol. ii., lib. xvi., p. 501 (Edinb. 1759, 2 vols. in fol.); Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 7858, fol. 50, 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> MS., Gaignières, No. 772, fol. 549, 8vo; MS. 7858, fol. 50, 8vo; Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de l'Orléanais, vol. xi.

<sup>3</sup> Quicherat, Procès de Jeanne d'Arc, vol. iv., pp. 121, 158; Guyon, Histoire de l'Eglise d'Orléans, 2<sup>e</sup> partie, p. 223.

## Du pays d'Escosse.

- Jehan Quot, Pierre de Tore, Robert Houston, Gauthier Fautier, Jehan de Lorze, Pierre Arnaut, Michel Norville, Gilbert de la Haye,<sup>1</sup> Kennedy (Hugh ?) escuier.<sup>2</sup>
1431. . . . "Plusieurs chefs et capitaines qui ont servy en plusieurs places et pays de France, . . . à l'encontre des Anglais."  
. . . Tho. Scot, Ant. Lobes.<sup>3</sup>
1434. John Lumisden, Chevalier receu à Montlery.<sup>4</sup>
1437. Jehan de Montgomery, esc. Lxxii hommes d'armes vii<sup>xx</sup> archers.<sup>5</sup>
1438. Ranequin Kanede, xi hommes d'armes xlvii de trait iii guisarmiers.  
David Dalidas (Haliday), xxi hommes d'armes lix archers vii guisarmiers.  
Alain Forly, xxxv hommes d'armes ci archers viii guisarmiers.  
Guillebert Honnetaire, Esc. du pays d'Escosse.  
Alexandre Ston, escuyer du pays d'Escosse, retenu à xi hommes d'armes et xii archers à la garde du corps du roy par lettres du 7 janvier 1435.<sup>6</sup>
1439. Robert Lumisden, receu à Arras.<sup>7</sup>
- Aug. 24, Jehan Berclay, "Ecuyer, établi garde et capitaine de la tour du pont de Villeneuve-les-Avignon, avec 8 arbalétriers et 4 hommes d'armes."<sup>8</sup>
1448. "C'est la monstre et reveue faicte à Dax et à Baionne le xiiij et xxvj<sup>e</sup> jour de janvier l'an 1460 de soixante et troys hommes d'armes et six vingt archiers à la grant paie et de neuf hommes d'armes et 33 archiers à la petite paie soubz la charge et reteneue de Robert de Patillot (Robin Pitilloch), Escuier, Sénéchal des Landes."

## HOMMES D'ARMES À LA GRANT PAYE.

Le dit Robert de Pitillot	Joe Brone.	Conyngham.
(Sénéchal).	George Ramzay.	Jehan Stuart.
Guille Craffort.	David Lanne.	Thomas Spens.
Andro Aubercome.	Robin Warton.	James Douglas.
Geoffroy Petit (Small).	Loys de la Haye.	Alexandre Stuart.
Thomas Pringle.	Joe Dombra.	Laurens Ingles.
David Honel.	Jehan Warop.	Jehan Sympson.
Guille Oliphant.	Patre Alibreton.	James Han.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Sorbonne MS. 1105.<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 28,684.<sup>5</sup> Cabinet des Titres, MS. 684.<sup>7</sup> *Analecta Scotica*, 2d Series, p. 35.<sup>2</sup> MS., Gaignières, 20,684.<sup>4</sup> *Analecta Scotica*, 2d Series, p. 35.<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, MS. 684.<sup>8</sup> Archives Nationales, K. 67.

Guille Hart.	Alexandre Oliphant.	Joe Galoy.
Jehan Tourneboulle.	Herbert Morray.	Jehan Amorray.
Math. Alibreton.	Robert de Modreville	Henry Montgomery.
Patr. Maklalin.	(Motherwell).	Wastre Banatin.

## HOMMES D'ARMES À LA PETITE PAIE.

Joe Norton.	Thomas Hart.	Gilles Spot.
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## ARCHIERS À LA PETITE PAIE.

Pat. Aubercome.	Andro Morray.	Guille Oliphant.
Joe Chambre.	Jehan Kannede.	Robin Wardelau.
Andro Laudre.	Pat. Quinquel.	James Criston.
David Heryot.	Joe Morray.	Jehan Bel dit Wilson.
Stevin Jonson.	Michel Conyghan.	Guille Banetin.
Andro Hay.	Jehan Ros.	Thomas Nox.
Charles Amorray.	Thomas Quinquel.	Andro Gret.
James Forle.	Jehan Scot.	Guill° Comyn.
Robin Aubrecome.	David Monypeny.	Guill° Edmeston.
Jehan Ramezay.	Guille Adameston.	Joe Wadrespin.
Jehan de Mondreville.	Henry Alibreton.	David Augleby.
Robin Linzay.	David Cryston ( <i>le premier</i> ).	James Wardelau.
Robin Ouph.	David Cryston ( <i>le dernier</i> ).	Michel Wilson.
Joe Lame.	Thomas Frizel.	Thomas Spans.
Joe Hay.	Jehan Hut.	Adam Bron. <sup>1</sup>

Jan. À George Bannaytin, "Esc. du royaume d'Escoce, ayant la conduite de xiii  
1462. hommes d'armes et xxxiv archiers estans soubz la charge de Patrix  
Folcart aussi escuier, la somme de 220 ll. tournois." <sup>2</sup>

1468. Jacques de Vernon, "Chevalier S<sup>er</sup> de Montreuil-Bonin, capitaine de 20  
lances et 50 brigandines." <sup>3</sup>

1469.<sup>4</sup> "C'est la montre et veue faicte à Villefranche et Millau, en Rouergue, les  
. . . et vingtiesme jours du mois d'octobre, l'an mil quatre cens  
soixante-neuf, des quatre-vings seize hommes d'armes et neuf-vingts et  
dix archiers escoussois . . . de l'ordonnance du roy nostre sire,

<sup>1</sup> Archives Nationales, K. 69, 42<sup>bis</sup>, J.J. 179, p. 99 recto ; J.J. 187, p. 289 ; Gaignières, 24,058.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 23,262, fol. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, MS. 20,685, fol. 379.

<sup>4</sup> Muster Roll kindly communicated by M. Francisque-Michel. Cf. Clairambault Collection, Nos. 235, 236, fol. 247.











estans soubz la charge et conduite de Robert de Conygham, seigneur de Chevreuse et de Villeneuve, conseiller et chambellan du roy," etc.

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

<i>Le dit</i> Robert de Conygham,	Guille Gray, <i>Lieutenant.</i>	James Prouvez.
<i>Capitaine.</i>	Guille Conygham.	Davy Leper.
Joachim Conygham.	Patris Mortemer.	Thomes Pringles.
Patris Conygham.	George Parclay.	Henry Macarry.
Andro Abrecorme.	Jehan Vinfresson.	Macasselin.
Guille Logan.	Guille Daguernon.	Huchun Clerc.
Alexandre Conygham.	James Comen.	Wastre Artusson.
George Tornebule.	James Cinclar ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).	Jehan Aliday.
Jehan Landre.	Regne Montgomery.	Davy Monypeny.
Robin Dissinton.	James Cinclar ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	James Spens.
Robin Abrecorme.	Cudeber Car.	Riche Flasque.
James Conygham.	Patris Maclaclem ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Andro Annay.
Robin de Ros.	Davy Landre.	Guille Goupil.
Guille de Ros.	Thomas Mareschal ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).	Jehan Anzel.
James Douglaiz.	Davy Car.	Guille Patrisson.
Huchin Walais.	Thomes Mareschal ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Rene Quenart.
Jehan Escoguel.	Guillaume Chambre ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Thomes Watreston.
Guille Quhafurd.	Jehan Baulon.	Guille Maxuel.
James Wac.	Martin Felips.	Jacques Conygham.
Jehan Chambre.	Christin Locart.	Joe Galoy.
Joe Macmorin.	Gilbert Ranfron.	Lancelot Conygham.
Thomes Harques.	Patris Monorgond.	Adam Lannim.
Guille Mourray.	George Ramezay.	Henry Maffort.
Berault Stuart.	James Ramezay.	Gauthier Conygham.
Henry Aclet.	Jehan Ramezay.	" "
Davy Ambleton.	George Aliberton.	Cudebert Johnston.
Guille Olyffant.	Guill° Balglany.	James Dixon.
Guille Chambre.	Guill° Comyn.	Patris Maclaclem ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).
Jehan Escrimegeon.	Nil Lermont.	Guille Londe.
Renquin Chambre.	Thomes Gieuffroy.	Alexandre Criston.
Robin Jonson.	Davy Aclet.	Thomes Sprot.
Fortune Conygham.	Jehan Raoul.	Hames Admeston.

## ARCHIERS.

Robin Darimble.	Guiby Start.	Robin Vold.
Thomes Mordasson.	Patris Conygham.	Guille Wain ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Joe Maguy.	Guille Arbutnot.	Robin Oburne.
Jehan Offogo.	Adam Bron.	James Gliffurd.
Robin Scot.	Joe Arold.	Guille Pronnez.
Guille Moncur.	Thomes Narn.	Martin Pringles.
Thomy Wels.	Henry Aliberton.	Jehan Laclamson.
Jehan le Mareschal.	Jehan Bel.	Joe Wischart.
Renquin Obar.	Guill° Dombat.	Sande Masson.
Jehan Obeth.	Adam Carnes.	Jehan Ambleton.
Jehan Mourray.	Joe Bonnat.	Robin Mossold.
Thomes Cinclar.	Joe Stratoquem (Strachan?).	? ?
Andro Bron.	Jehan Conygham.	? ?
Robin Stuart.	Patris Wilson.	Robin Balglany.
Jehan Bron de Barbune.	Guille Criston.	George Ethon.
Jehan Bron de Saint Sever.	? ?	Alexandre Richarson.
Thomes Hart ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Joe Cinclar.	Guill° Craig.
Jehan Malvin.	Robin Aubens.	Guille Patonson.
Davy Wishart.	Joe Thevart.	Loys de Mondin.
Joe Stuart.	Guille Chambre.	James Craffort.
Robin Gray.	Joe Preston.	Patris Madoch.
Wast Lyon.	Alexandre Lizieux.	Loire Chaton.
George Garnier.	Guill° Parc.	Riche Pournois.
Jehan Flemin.	Thomes Spady.	Davy Disert.
R. Ramezay.	James Armurier.	Jehan Richarson.
James Hog.	Thomes Huton.	Jehan Omon.
George Gutry.	Davy Androsson.	Davy Torneton.
James Banffour.	Henry None.	Thomes Greg.
Joe Handem.	Robin Wardelau.	James Leolain.
Andro Mathelen.	Alexandre Spotisvold.	George Cong.
Andro Argues.	Thomes Pert.	Joe Norton.
Guille Bannatin.	Thomes Cybault (Sibbald).	Davy Bourg.
Jehan Cambel.	Joe Symple.	Thomes Rabus.
Joe Grame.	Davy Heryot.	Guille Gonnain.
Robin Rooc.	Guille Lame.	George Lermont.
Guille Mourray.	Mongo Ponfroy.	George Smon.

George Chambre.	?	?	Thomy Ingles.
Thomes Farfed.	?	?	Patris Ingles.
Nicol Achuson.	Guille Leil.		Thomes Mourray.
?	Patris Alidel (Haliday?).		Morisse Sterling.
Michiel Macrere.	?	?	Joe Mordasson.
Andro Linxon.	Joe Locart.		Jaspar Forget.
Andro Damelston.	Alexandre Baron.		Henry Taist.
Davy Spitel.	Robin Bernarson.		James Bron.
Davy Lizieux.	Jehan Oblar.		Hyon Conygham.
Guiby Cybault.	Guille Ingles.		Adam Laudre.
James Bourne.	James Brasdot.		Henry Ethon.
Renguin Lammonson.	Thomes Ramezay.		Andro Warnoc.
Guille Petitgrieu.	Jehan Craffort.		Andro Jehanson.
Rene Macrat.	Guille Ramzay.		Guille Walais.
Edoart Wabourne.	Guille Retray.		Milles Darzac.
Robin Coquerand.	Charles Omourray.		Joe Macalem.
James Poty.	Guiby Quersam.		Guiby Guersam ( <i>le petit</i> ).
Nicol Tornebrand.	Thomes Hart ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).		Henry Lucas.
Joe Lang.	James Daran.		Joe Aclisson.
Jehan Tonson.	Andro Tornebule.		Guille Waux.
Joe Clerc.	Henry Gutry.		Cristol Opare.
Joe Guhit.	Davy Hacquet.		Loire Aliday.
Joe Wilson.	Guille Mathelen.		

## SCOTS MEN-AT-ARMS IN THE ITALIAN WARS.

October 1494.<sup>1</sup>*Capitaine*—Messire Codebert Carre, Chevalier Seigneur de St Quentin.

## 100 ARCHIERS DE LA NATION D'ECOSSE.

Nicolle Ramezay.	Finelo Cambel.	Robin Carre.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Collisson.	Jehan Stuart.	François Maxouel.
Thomas Ramezay.	Jehan Carre.	Alain Dainchoie.
Jehan Mazouel.	Patris Heriot.	Andor Londe.
Henry Gonolet.	David Foularton.	Jehan de Grain.
Jehan Lain.	Jehan Carre ( <i>J<sup>ne</sup></i> ).	Henry Couet.
Alexandre Logal.	Jehan Macdonel.	Jehan Annirhed.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, fond français, MS. 8001.

David Meldron.	Richard de Conighan.	Archambault Tournebulle.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Haliburton.	Robin Bord.	Robin Henrisson.
Alexandre Fourboys.	Laurens Henzelle.	Jehan Vualles.
Adam Saint Cler.	Alexandre Straton.	David Richardson.
Alexandre Cabert.	James Chambleton.	Jehan Tenant.
Quentin Porter.	Georges Glassefort.	Jehan Carwel.
Richard Hourdela.	Jehan Boutiller.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Oilsson.
James Ouarelles.	Wate Blac.	James Lidel.
Nicolle Horla.	Jehan Simple.	Thomas Abortie.
Archambault Armestran.	Laurens Vernon.	Nicolle Cambel.
Alexandre Moneour.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Auzelle.	David Faulçon.
Robin Bron.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Lore.	Jehan Esse.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Tournebulle.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Learn.	Pierre Semesson.
Rogier Carudes.	Robin Coqueren.	Jehan Acquelle.
Georges Bron.	Gilbert Semeton.	Maurice Tenel.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Craffort.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Sterlin.	Laurens Hensele ( <i>J<sup>ne</sup></i> ).
Guill <sup>e</sup> Bourne.	Pierre Vauvain.	Jehan Angou.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Hau.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Morvil.	Richard Clerc.
Patris Loude.	David Habortie.	Richard Foudringan.
Thomas Cocqueborne.	Joe Gyx.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Glaudimen.
Jehan Hebortie.	Robert Hogues.	David Carre.
Robin Gray.	Pierre Laudre.	David Hedenton.
Alexandre Broyn.	Gaultier Bichot.	Gaunain de Mygnes.
Jehan Damester.	Jehan Hameton.	Adam Vaubain.
David Craffort.	Patris Bel.	Jehan Alphinston.
Thomas Lindezay.	Jehan Abrotie.	

January 1, 1496.<sup>1</sup>

*Capitaine*—Messire Condebert Carre, Chevalier Seigneur de St Quentin.

Nicolle Ramezay.	Jehan Lain.	Jehan Carre ( <i>l'aine</i> ).
Guill <sup>e</sup> Collisson. <sup>2</sup>	Alexandre Loguen.	Patris Heriot.
Jehan Maxouel.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Haye.	David Foularton.
Thomas Ramezay.	Jehan Alpheton.	Jehan Carre.
Henry Gourla.	Jehan Stuart.	Patris Lyon.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, fond français, MS. 8001.

<sup>2</sup> William Collisson, Seigneur de la Fontenelle, lieutenant en la ville de Harfieu de hault et puissant Seigneur M<sup>re</sup> Bèrault Stuard, Seigneur d'Aubigny (British Mus. Add. Chart, 504).



Jehan Macdonel.	Richer Conighan.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Hoillisson.
Robin Carre.	Robin Boid.	James Lidel.
François Maxouel.	Laurens Hanselle.	Thomas Aboutie.
Andro Londe.	Alexandre Carre.	James Hoethed.
Jehan de Grain.	James Ambleton.	James Danglais.
Henri de Houed.	Georges Glassefort.	Jehan Esse.
David Meldron.	Jehan Boutiller.	Pierre Somesson.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Alibourthon.	Honate Blac.	Jehan Acquelle.
Alexandre Fortboys.	Alexandre Castelnau.	Morice Renaing.
Adam de St Clere.	Laurens Vernor.	Laurens Hanselle ( <i>jeune</i> ).
Alexandre Cabrec.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Hanselle.	Jehan Hogues.
Quentin Porter.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Lore.	Patris Carre.
Richer Wardelau.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Leaing.	Patris Bel.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Straton.	Robin Coqueran.	Le Bastard Maxouel.
Nicolle Wardelau.	Gilbert Symeton.	Richard Clere.
Archambault Armestron.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Sterlin.	Richard Fodringan.
Alain Dainchaye.	Pierre Vuavain.	Thomas Carre.
Robin Bron.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Mouray.	David Carre.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Craffort.	David Aboutie.	David Ramezay.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Bourne.	Joe Vous.	Gaunain de Mignes (Men-
Guill <sup>e</sup> Hau.	Robert Hogues.	zies ?).
Patris Laude.	Pierre Laudres.	Adam Wabin.
Thomes Cocquebourne.	Jehan Mortemer.	Jehan Amurhed.
Jehan Aboutie.	Archambault Tournebulle.	André Meurhed.
Robin Gray.	Jehan Hocqueby.	Boiz Actisson.
Alexandre Wromyn.	Joe Welles.	François Jousselin.
Jehan Dannester.	David Richardson.	Thomes Quenisson.
David Craffort.	Jehan Tenant.	Adam Rudefort.
Thomas Linesay.	David Hocquebly.	

January 1497.<sup>1</sup>*Capitaine*—Messire Codebert Carre, Chevalier Seigneur de St Quentin.

Nicolle Ramezay.	Jehan Lain.	Jehan Carre ( <i>aine</i> ).
Codebert Carre.	Alexandre Loguen.	Patris Heriot.
Jehan Maxouel.	James Saint Cler.	David Foularton.
Thomas Ramezay.	Jehan Alpheston.	Jehan Carre ( <i>jeune</i> ).
Henry Goullart.	George Carre.	Patris Lyon.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, fond français, MS. 8001.

Jehan Macdonel.	Jehan Damester.	Joe Welles.
Robin Care.	Jehan Hallide.	David Richarson.
François Maxouel.	Thomas Linezay.	Jehan Tenant.
Alain Damehoye.	Richard Conighan.	David Hocqueleby.
André Laude.	Robin Boit (Boyd ?).	Guill <sup>e</sup> Ouillesson.
James Hameton.	Guillebert Hay.	James Lidel.
Henry Dehouet.	Archambault Simple.	Thomas Abouttie.
Jehan Hamurhed.	Alexandre Wroin.	James Honetet.
David Meldrim.	James Ameton.	Adam Rudefort.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Conigan.	Georges Glassefort.	Jehan Esse.
Alexandre Forboys.	Jehan Boutillier.	Pierre Semesson.
Adam de Saint Cler.	Honate Blac.	Jehan Aquelle.
Alexandre Cabrel.	François Jouselin.	Morice Touain.
Quentin Portier.	Laurens Vernon.	Jehan Aquelle ( <i>J<sup>ne</sup></i> ).
Robin Damehoye.	David Faulcon.	Jehan Hogues.
Geudre Murhed.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Lore.	David Bonnerre.
Nicolle Werdelau.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Leaing.	Patric Bel.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Coquebourne.	Robin Coqueron.	Le Bastard Maxouel.
Alexandre Maincourt.	Gilbert Semeton.	Richard Clere.
Robin Bron.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Sterlin.	Richard Fodrigan.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Tournebulle.	Pierre Wanain.	Richard Carre.
David Rem.	Le Bastard de St Quentin.	Jehan Quin (King ?).
Brix Aclisson.	David Abouttiq.	Gaunain de Mignes.
Georges Ramesay.	Joe Voris.	Adam Wabain.
James Carre.	Robert Hogues.	David Carre.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Bourne.	Patric Loude.	Gendre Denop.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Hau.	Loys de Claquin.	Robin Gray.
Pierre Ladre.	Archambault Tourne-	David Bonneire.
Thomas Coquebourne.	bulle.	Patric Bel.
Jehan Aboutticq.	Jehan Hocqueby.	

January 1498.<sup>1</sup>*Capitaine*—Messire Codebert Carre, Chevalier Seigneur de St Quentin.

George Carre.	Thomas Ramezay.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Coquebourne.
Jehan de Sandelan.	Henry Gourla.	David Bel.
Nicolle Ramezay.	Jehan Lain.	Jehan Carre ( <i>J<sup>ne</sup></i> ).
Georges Beldein.	Alexandre Loguen.	Patric Heriot.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 8001.

David Foularton.	Jehan Damester.	Guill° Ouillesson.
Jehan Carre ( <i>aine</i> ).	Jehan Halida.	James Lidel.
Patric Lyon.	Thomas Linezay.	Thomas Abouttiq.
Jehan Macdonel.	Richard Coniguan.	James Honeter.
Robin Carre.	Jehan de Grain.	Adam Rudeffort.
François Maxouel.	Gilbert Haye.	Jehan Esse.
Alain Damehaye.	Archambault Simple.	Pierre Semesson.
André Loude.	Georges Glassefort.	Thomas Ouillesson.
Geudre Donlop.	Jehan Boutiller.	Jehan Cocquebourne.
Henry Honel.	Honate Blac.	Laurens Hanselle.
Guill° Colisson.	François Joussin.	Joe Hogues.
David Meldrin.	Henry Donlop.	David Bonnerre.
Guill° Conighan.	Jehan de Hay.	Patric Bel.
Alexandre Forboys.	Guill° Lore.	Le Bastard Maxouel.
Adam de St Cler.	Guill° Leang.	Richard Clerc.
Alexandre Mamourt.	Gilbert Semeton.	Richard Fodrigan.
Robin Bron.	Robin Coquerein.	Richard Carre.
Guill° Tournebulle.	Guill° Sterlin.	Jehan Alpheston.
David Rem.	Pierre Wavain.	Jehan Quin.
Brix Aclisson.	David Abouttiq.	Jehan Leang.
Guill° Helmen.	Joe Onyris.	David Carre.
James Carre.	Guill° Andeston.	Jehan Hamelton.
Guill° Bourne.	Pierre Ladre.	Adam Wabain.
Guill° Ha.	Loys de Claquin.	
Patric Loude.	Archambault Tournebulle.	<i>In October.</i>
Thomas Coqbourne.	Jehan Hocqueleby (Ogilvy?).	James Alibourton.
Jehan Abouttiq.	Jehan Houelles.	Patric Straton.
Robin Gray.	David Richardson.	Patric Lyon.
Alexandre Herouyn (Ir- vine?).	Jehan Tenant.	Jehan de Gray.
	David Hocqueleby.	

1498.<sup>1</sup>

Roole de la monstre et reveue faicte à Dijon le 29° j. d'octobre l'an 1498 de 98 hommes d'armes et deux cens archiers du nombre de 100 lances fournies de l'ordonnance du roy nostre sire estans soulz la charge et conduite de Guillaume Stuart, Chevalier, Seigneur d'Oyson, sa personne en ce comprinse . . . pour le quartier de Juillet, Aout et Septembre dernier.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Clairambault MSS. No. 239.

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

Mon dit Seigneur d'Oyson, <i>Capitaine.</i>	Guillebert Tournebulle, <i>Enseigne.</i>
Robert Stuart, <i>Lieutenant.</i>	Guillaume Criston, <i>Guidon.</i>
Robin de Lisle.	Guillaume Straton ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).
Wast Criston.	Patric Odart.
Allain Stuard.	Guillaume Lescelle.
Alexandre Greneleau.	Jehan Benyn.
Adam Han.	Mathelin Aballon.
Franquyn D'Oyson.	Guillaum Dombarre.
Alexandre Foulcart ( <i>pour</i>	Thomes Bel ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
<i>2 mois</i> ).	Patric Murhet.
Cristofle Spens ( <i>pour le</i>	Patric Ambleton.
<i>reste</i> ).	Guillaume Spens.
Patric Coquebourne.	Robin Maclaren.
Thomes Fardin.	Nyl Conigand.
Jehan Chambre.	Thomes Guibson.
Nycolle Stuart.	Jehan Bel.
Jehan Tournebulle.	Messire VIDAST AFFLET.
Joe Spotsoubz (Spottis-	Hemond Afflet.
wood).	Wast Allefeston.
Robin Ingles.	Adam Ademeston.
Joe Andeston.	Messire BARENS.
Jehan Bastard Daulbigny.	Messire THOMAS TOURNEBULLE.
Robert Conigand.	Archambault Pringles.
Perot Baglany.	Messire ESTIENNE DES
Joe Carre.	CHAMPS.
Laurens Afflet.	Angellot Stuard.
Loys Ingles.	Messire BERNARDIN GUY-
James Abercorme.	RONDE.

## ARCHIERS.

Guillaume Fanzat ( <i>trom-</i>	Guillaume Pincarton.	Guillaume Rossel.
<i>pette</i> ).	Guilbert Mourray.	Joe Hanzelle.
Wyl Flemyn.	David Thomesson.	Loys Thyne.
David Fogo.	Thomes Watesson.	David Challenger.
Guillaume Gardener.	Jehan Bron.	Robin Wardelau.
Janot Abercorme.	Glaude Tournebulle.	Jehan Abercorme.

Joe Ronde.	Andro Conigand.	Guillaume Straton ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Jehan Grantsallon.	Phelippes Spotsoubz ( <i>pour</i>	
Bernardin Estiades ( <i>pour</i>	2 mois).	Henry Loccart.
2 mois).	Joe Maguy ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).	Thomes Congleton.
La Mote ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).	Julien Aballon.	Jacques Scot.
Daulphin Delapaille.	Richart Hocques.	Joe Barquilla.
Jehan Guiquo.	Michau Clerc.	Jehan Coqueran.
Anthoine Duboys.	Cristofle Greneleau.	Joe Wardela.
Jamyn Laudre.	David Afflet.	Ollivier Wallecher.
Thomes Lomesdel.	Jehan Eston ( <i>pour 2 mois</i> ).	Alexandre Gray ( <i>pour 2 mois</i> ).
Perot Preston ( <i>pour 2 mois</i> ).	Jehan Gourdon ( <i>pour le</i>	David Griffon ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).
James Bart ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).	reste).	Thomes Watesson ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Robin Frezel.	Patric Madonel.	Jamyn Ambleton.
Andro Bruz.	James Yon.	Thomes Conigand.
Adan Tournebulle.	Joe Bizet ( <i>pour 2 mois</i> ).	David Straquen.
Joe Nesbet ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Jehan Abrenache ( <i>pour le</i>	Guillaume Coquebourne.
David Stuart.	reste).	Jamyn Forboys.
David Rotz.	Jamyn Hart.	Georges Straton.
Georges le Mareschal.	Thomes Hay.	Guilbert Mydy.
Jacques Carle.	Patric Wardela.	Jehan Richarson ( <i>pour 2</i>
Robin Lesle.	Alexandre Carre.	mois).
Guillaume Ambleton.	Charles Cambel ( <i>pour 2</i>	Georges Cleing ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).
Edouart Laudon.	mois).	Wast Bichet.
Guillaume Domester.	Alexandre St Cler ( <i>pour</i>	Guilbert Maclare.
James Sotrigand.	le reste).	Joe Phinlasson.
Michau Forboys.	Jehan Tournebulle.	Guille Gray.
Simon Maclaren.	Martin Macmillan.	Andro Allison.
Robin Hay.	Jehan Arsequin.	David Ambleton.
David Frezel.	Jehan Faulster.	Anthoyne Flemyn.
Denis Coquebourne.	Jamyn Barrentin.	Robert Baffour.
Patric Wilson.	Jehan Cambel.	Guillaume Lau.
Robin Holland.	Robin Wast.	David Chambre.
Archambault Conigand.	Thomes Conigand ( <i>pour 2</i>	Andro Carnes.
Andro Tournebulle ( <i>pour</i>	mois).	Andro Simple.
deux mois; en son lieu,	Henry Gargola ( <i>pour le</i>	Jehan Enorques.
Jehan Chesne, <i>pour le</i>	reste).	Robin Tournebulle.
reste).	Guillaume Ingles.	Joe Tournebulle.
Guillaume Conigand.	Thomes Carnes.	Robin Gray.

Jamyn Tournebulle.	Jehan Estrabourg.	Guichart Arnault.
Thomes Jamesson.	Joe Lours.	Jehan Dangfoys.
Jehan Criston.	Joe Marre.	Loys Querel.
Thomes Roche.	Jamyn Stourre.	Gaspart Guerart.
Gerard Criston.	Jehan Raucon.	Jehan Georges.
Jehan Ingles.	Laurens Thomesson.	Bertrand Daynes ( <i>pour 2</i>
Pierre Regnault.	Jehan Prenostal.	<i>mois</i> ).
Hector Auston.	Jehan Asseurs ( <i>pour 2 mois</i> ).	Tristan Darges ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).
Collin Maclare.	Guillot Arcoys ( <i>pour le</i>	Pierre de Monterend ( <i>pour 2</i>
Joe Honet ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	<i>reste</i> ).	<i>mois</i> ).
Guillaume Calender.	Jehan du Faye.	Charles Quoqueren ( <i>pour le</i>
Robin Cuc.	Guillaume Hern.	<i>reste</i> ).
Sande Casselamp ( <i>pour 2</i>	Patric Robichon.	Jacques Langloys.
<i>mois</i> ).	Jacques le Cambier.	Guillaumes Ingles.
François Chambellan ( <i>pour</i>	Robin Abers.	Loys le Moine.
<i>le reste</i> ).	Joe Cornvail ( <i>pour 2 mois</i> ).	Jehan Dolanorne.
Robin Ellonent.	Guillaume Bel ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).	Loys de Maye.
Jamyn Ellapen.	Arnault de Mauleon.	Alixandre Ternay.
Jehan Bregent.	Loys Dechus.	Jocalix Breton.
Guillaume Mattelin.	Durant Janzac ( <i>trompette</i> ).	Nycollas le Roy.
Sande Queureques.	Jebourge de Byry ( <i>pour 2</i>	Allain Staud ( <i>pour 2 mois</i> ).
Michault Marel.	<i>mois</i> ).	Berault Stud ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).
Guillaume Valloy.	Loys Chevreau ( <i>pour le</i>	Jehan Rougier.
Jehan Dongloys.	<i>reste</i> ).	David Thaing.
Jehan Evarmes.	François Welx ( <i>pour 2</i>	Thomas Sitif.
Pietre Clou.	<i>mois</i> ).	Guillaume Delafaye.
Nicollas de Monceaux.	Guill° Gran ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).	Jehan Manquelin.
Pierre de Longueville.	James Peuxent.	François Delygardes.
Jehan Moureau.	Guillaume Capelle.	Jehan Strymigon.
Robert Bernicat.	Marin le Rollier.	Pierre Taillefer.
Guillaume Prest.	Pierre de St Martin.	Jehan de Lymermont.
Robin Eslemg.	Grant Jean Delaunoy.	Richart Guybin.
Le bastard de Bellu.	Pierre Ray.	Noel Roche.
Simon Carades.	Loys De lion.	Pietre Dausses.
Richart Reppel.	Marin de Terre Naufve.	Arthus Anges.
Edouard Preudomme.	Thomas de Bourges.	Henry Reppel.

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

Guilbert Allovent.	Balthasar Guenart.	Simon Carre.
François de Monthehaut.	Philippe Scot.	Michel de Villebreme.
Le Marquis d'Arques.	Joe Guinebaut.	François de Mirembel.
Nicolas Delacroix.	Nicolas Terron.	Jehan de Rochefort.
Joe Cocquoing.	Jehan Pamchault.	Ambroys Affluet.
Petit Jehan Guybin.	Marc d'Angleve.	Jehan de Menestoyon.
Guillaume de Cadillac.	Yvonnet de Sommières.	Petit Jehan Delaunoy.
Hanny Bar Bancar.		

1499.<sup>1</sup>

Roolle de la monstre et reveue faicte au camp devant non en la duché de Millan, le xvii<sup>e</sup> jour d'aoust l'an mcccc quatre vings dix neuf de quatre vings dix huit hommes d'armes, et neufz vings dix neuf archers du nombre de cent lances fournies de l'ordonnance du Roy nostre Sire estans soubz la charge et conduite de Messire Guillaume Stuart, chevalier, Seigneur d'Oyson, sa personne en ce comprinse, par nous David de Léolin, escuyer, Seigneur de Lusson, a ce commis et ordonné par messeigneurs les mareschaux de France ; icelle monstre et reveue servant à l'acquit de maistre Pierre Legendre, conseiller et trésorier des guerres du Roy nostre dict Seigneur, pour le quartier d'avril, may, et juing derrain passé, desquelz hommes d'armes et archers les noms et surnoms s'ensuivent.

## ET PREMIÈREMENT :

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

Messire Guillaume Stuart.	Jehan de la Garde ( <i>pour</i>	Robin Yngles.
Robert Stuart.	<i>le reste</i> ).	Joe Andeston.
Guillebert Tournebulle.	Franequin d'Oizon.	Guillebert Allovent.
Robin de l'Isle.	Christoffe Spens.	Guillaume de Cadillac.
Wast Patisson.	Patric Coquebourne.	Yvonnet de Sonnères.
Allain Stuart.	Thomes Jardin.	Jehan bastard d'Aubigny.
Alixandre Grevela.	Jehan Chambre.	Robert Conigand.
Adam Hau.	Nicolle Stuard.	Perot Baglany.
Jehan de la Rivière ( <i>pour 1</i>	Jehan Tournebulle.	Joe Carre.
<i>mois vi jours, en son lieu</i> ).	Joe Sposoubz.	Laurens Asflet.

<sup>1</sup> Clairambault MSS., No. 240, fol. 517.

Loys Ingles.	Philippe Sopsoubz.	Thomes Guibson.
James Abercorne.	Balthazarc Quenart.	Jehan Bel.
Le Marquis d'Arques.	Stin Sert.	Messire Widast Asflet.
Georges Abernathe.	Hector Recoul.	Edmond Asflet.
Nicolas de la Croix.	Thomes Bel ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).	Wast Allefeston.
Philippe Stud.	David Caing.	Adam Ademeston.
Pietres Nilxon.	David Brom.	Jehan Panichault.
Jehan Conigand.	David Mourray.	Messire BARENS.
Doncquant Tournebulle.	Joe Patecon.	Michel de Villebresme.
Joe Quoquoing.	Albert Joston.	François de Mirenbel.
Jehan Stuart.	Joe Quyvelant.	Jehan de Rochefort.
Guillaume Colleville.	Nicolle Ferron.	Messire Thomas Tournebulle.
Georges Ellem.	Guillaume Straton ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).	Angelot Stuart.
Guillaume Damoys.	Patric Odart.	Archambault Pringles.
Petit Jehan Guynin.	Guillaume Lestelle.	Messire Estienne Camp.
Jehan d'Oyson.	Jehan Bevyn.	Angelot Dausses.
Beraud Stud.	Mathelin Aballon.	Ambroys Asflet.
Marc de Glandèves.	Guillaume Dombarre.	Jehan de Menestriou.
Alexandre Dromeur.	Thomes Bel ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Petit Jehan de Launoy.
Jehan de Rotz.	Patric Minchet.	François de Monchechaut.
Adam Nesbet.	Patric Ambleton.	Hannybal Bameril.
Jaques Spot.	Guillaume Spens.	Messire BERNARDIN GIRONDE.
Lucas Hocques.	Robin Maclaren.	Guillaume Craston.
Joe Wardelan.	Nil Conigand.	

## ARCHERS.

Guillaume Jauzac.	Pietre Clou.	Pierre de Longueville.
Nil Flemyn.	Robin Eszon.	Thomes Lomesdel.
Sande Lovem.	Thomes Watesson.	James Bart.
David Fogo.	Jehan Brom.	Jehan Moreau.
Jehan Douglas.	Glaude Tournebulle.	Robin Fiezel.
Jehan Entermes.	Guillaume Roussel.	André Tournebulle.
Guillaume Gardener.	Joe Hanzelle.	Adam Tournebulle.
Jehannot Abercorme.	Loys Thyne.	Joe Nesbet.
Guillaume Pincarton.	David Chalender.	Robert Chambre.
Gilbert Mourray.	Robin Waderlan.	Rolland Berincat.
David Thomesson.	Jehan Abercorme.	Guillaume Prest.
Guillaume Calender.	Jany Landre.	David Rost.



Georges le Maréchal.	Jaques Andrisson.	Guichart Arnault.
Jaques Darle.	Jehan le Faye.	Jehan Daulsoix.
Robin Lesele.	Jamyn Hard.	Gaspart Guyrart.
Guillaume Embleton.	Thomes Hay.	Jehan Georges.
Edouart Laudon.	Patric Wardelau.	Loys Querel.
Robert Estaing.	Alixandre Carre.	Perot Peston.
Guillaume Domester.	Guillaume Herne.	Charles Quoqueran.
James Lodrigand.	Alixandre Semcler.	Maurice Dromont.
Michau Forbois.	Patric Robichon.	Guillaume Yngles.
Symon Maclaie.	Jaques le Cambier.	Thomas Carnes.
Robin Hay.	Robin Avers.	Loys le Moynes.
David Fiezel.	Georges Tar.	Guillaume Stracon ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Denis Coquebourne.	Robin Eve.	Jehan de Lavoyne.
Symon Cazades.	François Chambellan.	Loys de Maye.
Patric Wilsson.	Jehan Tournebulle.	Lyenard Maxurel.
Richart Repet.	Martin Macquemullan.	Joe Alixbreton.
Edouart Preudomme.	Robin Eslovent.	Nicolas le Roy.
Robin Holland.	Jehan Apringles.	Henon Locart.
Archambault Conigand.	Jamyn Clapen.	Gilles de Bellin.
Jehan du Chesne.	Jehan Gram.	Thomes Angleton.
Jehan Estrabourg.	Jamyn Barcuan.	Jehan Rogier.
Joe Lours.	Jehan Berger.	Jaques Sert.
Joe Marre.	Jehan Bregent.	Joe Barquela.
Robert Craffort.	Robin Wat.	David Thaing.
Guillaume Conigand.	Henry de Guergoula.	Thomes Fity.
Julien Aballon.	Guillaume de Mellevin.	Guillaume de la Faye.
Richart Hocques.	Sande Quenoques.	Jehan Coqueran.
Michau Clerc.	Michau Mareul.	Jehan Moquellin.
Christoffe Grenelau.	Guillaume Valloys.	François de Ligardes.
David Asflet.	James Pemenc.	Joe Wardelan.
Jehan Gourdon.	Anthoine de Baigneux.	Jehan Stoymygon.
Jehan Remixon.	Marin le Rollier.	Pierre Taillefer.
Laurens Thomesson.	Pierre de Saint Martin.	Ollivier Winchart.
Guyot Arquoy.	Grant Jehan de Launoy.	David Gresson.
Patric Madonel.	Pierre Roy.	Jehan de Lymermont.
Le bastard de Vesla.	Loys de Lyon.	Thomes Watesson.
Jehan Prevostat.	Marin de Terrenausve.	Jamyn Embleton.
James Yon.	Thomas de Brigues.	Richart Guyvin.

Thomes Gonigand.	Loys de Thusfat.	Joe Hovet ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Noel Roche.	Arnault de Mauléon.	Jehan Quenoques.
David Straquen.	René de Cresfoux.	Robin Tournebulle.
Guillaume Coquebourne.	David Embleton.	Joe Tournebulle.
Jamyn Forbois.	Anthoine Flemyn.	Robin Gray.
Pietre Dances.	Joe Toc.	Jamyn Tournebulle.
Artus Aigues.	Jehan Gugfalo.	Thomes Jamesson.
Georges Struton.	Jehan de la Mote.	Jehan Christon.
Gilbert Midi.	Daulphin de la Paille.	Thomes Rouf.
Guillaume Prest.	Robert Bassonot.	Jehan Yngles.
Wast Bichet.	Jehan Quiqura.	Girard Christon.
Gilbert Maclare.	Guillaume Lanug.	Jehan Affenos.
Joe Phinulasson.	Anthoine du Boys.	Pierre d'Orenge.
Jaques Embleton.	David Chambre.	Colin Maclan.
Guillaume Gram.	Andro Simple.	Joe Magnyn.
Loys Chesneau.	André Carnes.	Andro Conigand.
Durand Jauzac.		

1505.<sup>1</sup>Messire Guill<sup>e</sup> Criston de Connestray, *Cappitaine*.

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

Alan Csteuart.	Thomas Woio.	Alex. Duloup.
Androu Barreclay.	Jehan Amaxouel.	Edouart Woelles.
Gauvin Agardin.	Anthoine Fleming.	Gilbert Haye.
Guille Straton.	Je <sup>b</sup> Alberneathy.	Alexandre Moncourt.
Guille Criston.	Jehan Comgan.	Richy Foudrigan.
Woaty Blair.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Leang.	Robin Domhoye.
Patric Woymes.	James Estraguid.	Alex. Quenocques.
James Allirdes.	Robin Carre.	Guille Conquebourne.
Androu Foure.	Petre Acriston.	James Sancier.
Richy Hauchan.	Alix. Grinllan.	David Baffourt.
Androt Foldy.	Honfroy Coqueborne.	Woot Maxouel.
Gilbert Flemmyng.	Michel Acriston.	James Carre.
George Yasseson.	Jehan Abourdie.	Patris Lyon.
Pitre Cluz.	James Damester.	Georges Gutry.
George Coqueborne.	Dauid Prester.	Regnault Lahyte.
Robin Honter.	Richy Carre.	Sandy Gardcurt.
Gilbert Sementon.	Alix. Lyon.	

<sup>1</sup> From the original Muster Roll preserved in University Library, Edinburgh.

## ARCHERS.

Andro Fourboys.	Jehan Ratray.	Henri Redpet.
Jehan Hongur.	George Fourmant.	Robert Banentin.
Thomas Handry.	Jehan Boutilyer.	Jehan Congleton.
Michel Acriston.	Robert Lougmolony.	Je <sup>h</sup> Haye.
Sandy Lidredat.	Jehan Guilbert.	James Coquebourne.
Sandy Baffour.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Laudre.	Jehan Bel.
Robert Ramezay.	David Oullefant.	Thomas Mouray.
Patris Marnas.	Thomes Gourdon.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Mein.
Huchon Bourt.	Je <sup>h</sup> Hervy.	Adam Wroatreston.
Androu Cranston.	Jehan Foucart.	Jehan Cabreit.
Michel Ambleton.	Jemy Jeyscours.	James Nesbet.
Am (Amy) Bel.	Reingan Nesbet.	Robin Leviston.
Jehan Lydel.	Patrix Bel.	Robin Foucart.
Thomas Lam.	George Congleton.	Jony Leang.
George Lebeden.	Robert Flemyng.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Reclinton.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Craffourt.	Petre Estourey.	Jehan Acaffourt.
Sandy Balbourny.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Gray.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Gardin.
Patrix Estraton.	Sandy Quenoques.	James Mouray.
Robert Mongruboidre.	James Laudre.	Alix. Lougan.
James Aquinquet.	Gilbert Red.	James Bard.
Sandy Patrixson.	Thomas Carnes.	Thomas Goudry.
George Symeton.	Andro Foucart.	Woathy Blane.
Jamy Andrison.	Robin Bron.	David Barclay.
Robin Alain.	Jemy Robisson.	Jehan Alomesdel.
Edouard Est.	Jehan Mortemer.	Claude Lyennon.
Oliver Flemang.	George Meldelton.	Jehan Adonbarr ( <i>le aysné</i> ).
Edouart Estourey.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Cavair.	Jehan Adunbarr ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Oliuer Flamang.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Estraton ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Jemy Lyuet.
Handry Descoupbe.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Veiche.	

1507.<sup>1</sup>

Roolle de la monstre et reveue faicte à Nouarre en la duché de Milan le 13<sup>e</sup> jour d'avril de l'an mil cinq cens et sept avant Pasques de cent hommes d'armes et deux cens archiers escossois faisans le nombre de cent lances fournies des ordonnances du

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Clairambault, MSS. 241.

Roy nostre Sire. Estans soubz la charge et conduite de Messire Robert Stuart, Chevalier, Seigneur de St Quentin, sa personne en ce comprinse par nous Jehan de Hassonville, escuier s<sup>r</sup> du dit lieu Commis et ordonné à faire la dicte monstre et reveue. Icelle servant à l'acquet de Jehan de Poncher, Conseiller du Roy nostre Sire et trésorier de ses guerres pour le quartier d'octobre, novembre, et decembre dernier passé. Desquels hommes d'armes et archiers les noms et seurnoms s'ensuivent.

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

Monseig <sup>r</sup> de St Quentin.	Gilbert Alonant.	Alexandre Dixon.
Thomes Linezel.	Jehan Moncrist.	Robin Hay.
Perot Abaglany.	Girard Christon.	Joe Tournebulle.
Jehan Spontsoubz.	Jehan de La Roche.	Guillaume Congleton.
Joe Carre.	Miguel Dance.	Jacques Hombleton.
Messire PETRE DANCE.	Joe Maclere.	Grenelles.
Mathe Huezal.	David Mourray.	Richart Hocgues.
Concressault. <sup>1</sup>	Andro de Blancha.	Petit Jehan Tournebulle.
Lucas Hogues.	Guille Lescossoys.	Sande Bart.
Thomes Jardin.	Jehan Hocgues.	David Griffon.
Charles Coqueran.	Johannot de Pangeas.	Andro Dixon.
Panglas.	David Huezal.	Denis Afflet.
Messire ALEXANDRE JARDIN.	Gilbert Jauston.	Robin Eslonant.
Mathelin Ballon.	Adam Ademeston.	Jehan Tynezel.
Andro Tonde.	Jehan Hacton.	Bertrand Demonta.
Andro Gra.	Jehan de Mezieux.	Adam Wanan.
James Foudringan.	Françoys Gunyn.	Richart Roul.
Phelippes Spotsoubz.	Olivier Winchart.	Gilbert Macleren.
Thomes Fity.	Joe Hanzelle.	David Lisle.
François Chambellan.	Andro Durant.	Michau Hinston.
Le bastard de la Vau.	Françoys Oudrespin.	Hennibal Blancal.
Jehan d'Oyson.	Joe Quoquoyn.	Guillaume Lescelle.
David Magdonel.	Georges Tournebulle.	Joe Maclour.
Hector de Quedebel.	Patric Hugulby.	Julien Balon.
James Conigand.	Hennibal Honach.	Jehan de Menestoron.
Morice de Montceaulx.	Georges Ramzan.	Jehannot Abercorme.
Jehan Danxes.	Jehan Longan.	Guyot Darquays.
Thomas Roul.	Guillaume Nizemer.	Denis Wandes.

<sup>1</sup> Monypenny, Seigneur de Concressault.

Robin Macleren.	Pierre Escambrebee.	Guille Stuart.
Jehan Assuneton.	Gaultier Afflet.	Alexandre Cumyn.
Thomes Guibson.	Jehan Ramezay.	Andro Janston.
Jehan Hembleton.	Nicolas de Pitavy.	Robin Stuart.
Villefranche.	Andro Hariot.	Loys de Mont Courry.

## ARCHIERS.

Robin Vasbourne.	Jehan de Morlaus.	Andro Martixin.
Adam Warneston.	Robert Chambre.	Joe Mourray.
Georges Esbourne.	Jehan de Bonnan.	Hector Hauston.
Guillaume Bel.	Jehan de Blaqueha.	Georges Laisselles.
Andro Mur.	Georges le Mareschal.	Jarles Wyer.
Guillaume Estronolle.	Jacques Cosson.	Pierre Mat.
Françoys Semec.	Albert Afflet.	Jehan Wyquilson.
Gilbert Sandrisson.	Patric Andrisson.	Thomes Laisné.
Robin Morisson.	Martin Hocquet.	David Monet.
Grec Challon.	Jehan Blesye.	Alexandre Mourray.
Jehan Martin.	Archambault Woelles.	Joe Ballon.
Jehan Bonnet ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Guillaume Morton.	David Hariot.
Jamyn Haston.	Jacques Ballon.	Loys Andrespin.
Pierre Janston.	Sande Hayvin.	Jehan Tournebu.
Pierre Gavyn.	Regnault de Sadwac.	Jamyn Hart.
Loys Thyne.	Thomes de Hay ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Thomes de Hay ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).
Jehan Atoures.	Jacques Nilson.	James Abecorme.
Archambault Mordot.	Julien Robert.	Henry Stuart.
Jehan Boucanant.	Mainnes Monet.	Claude Bron.
Jamyn Ladre.	Georges Cumyn.	
Bertrand de la Marque.	Jehan Ramezay.	Bernard Macasselin.
Thomes Londe.	Jamyn Lang.	Jehan Stuc.
Robin Kay.	Archy Fonster.	Colin Maclar.
Jehan Coustz.	Jehan Duchesne.	Thomes Dromont.
Robin Bardrener.	Jamyn Stracton.	Guillaume Liviston.
Jehan de Caldonel.	Guillaume Benyn.	Sande Grem.
Jehan Macquenart.	Robin Coquebourne.	Thomes Boncorps.
Patric Doucairxon.	Thomes Laisselle.	Guillaume Coqueran.
Jehan Sandelang.	James Tonde.	Robin Wach.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Coqueran ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	— Sirisas.	Joe Canade.
Laurens Dixon.	Michau Lang.	Jehan Jacques de Conigan.

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Jehan Simple.	Augustin de Lisle.	Alexandre Glandemyn.
Jamyn Wardelau.	Sande Robisson.	Sebastran Duleu.
James Alisson.	Nicolas le Roy.	Joe Silarxon.
Loys Bonny.	Hauvry Locart.	Loys Chesneau.
Jehan Gay.	Alixandre Banelin.	David Stuart.
Jehan de Montcomery.	Joe Macquy.	David Hembleton.
Jamyn Fourboys.	Warry Delavau.	Pasquet le Mousnier.
Robin Tournebulle.	Lancelot de Lanfernet.	Jamyn Conigand.
Thomes Spart.	Olivier de Cony.	Jamyn Tournebulle.
Georges de Saint-Cler.	Guillaume Stuart.	Pierre Bardelet.
Georges Aclisson.	Martin Bouret.	James Rod.
Jehan Conigand.	Montpezas.	Jehan Queconan.
Andro Leinton.	Archy Waston.	Richart Jouttard.
Jehannot de Troussebois.	Donnigcon.	David Chambre.
Georges Sée.	Joe Wardelau.	Robin Gra.
Maistre Marc.	Jehan Part.	Anthoinne Philon.
Richard Store.	Pierre de Taillefert.	Guillaume de Lagnerlande.
David Poux.	Anthon Linezel.	Jehan Bonnet ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).
Thomes Marquron.	Joe Bron.	Nil Nezebeth.
Jehan Bergehan.	Jehan Strimton.	Miquel Odyer.
Anthoine Charny.	Andro Waston.	Guillaume Linezel.
François Stut.	Guillaume Aburtie.	Jehan Carre.
Guillaume de Rocheffort.	Richart Sturt.	Christophe de Massuquel.
Macé de Beauvillier.	Thomes Denyn.	Jehan Bacte.
Marcis de Terrenofve.	Pierre Lamy.	Sande Stuart.
Jhéromme Patourel.	Guillaume Blac.	David Thomesson.
Bertrand de Salles.	David Straquay.	Richart Sourdelan.
Jehan Moreau.	Edouard Barentin.	Alixandre Hembleton.
David Blezye.	François Ninon.	Guillaume Amera.
Jehan du Nou.	Wache Commentrix.	Georges Cosson.
Gaspard Girard.	Thomes Robisson.	Robin Stevaux.
Jacques Touroufit.	Niquel Hocgues.	Jehan Grem.
Guillaume Patrisson.	Georges Stracton.	Edouart Tranche.
Regnault de Heurte.	Joe Léon.	Jehan Courbe.
Patric Coqueburne.	Jehan Daubigny.	

July 1507.<sup>1</sup>

Roolle de la Monstre [et Reueue faicte a la Roquette du chas]teau de Milan le douze<sup>me</sup> jour de Juillet l'an mil cinq cens et sept, de cinquante hommes d'armes et cent ar[chiers . . . ] de la Rocquette du chasteau de Milan pour la garde seureté & deffence dicelle estans soubz la charge et conduite [de Messire Guill<sup>e</sup> Criston Seigneur] de Connestray leur Capp<sup>ne</sup> sa personne en ce comprinse Par nous Charles de Condemyne Seigneur du dit lieu . . . commis & ordonné a faire la dite monstre & Reueue icelle servant a laquit de Maistre Nycolas [de Neufville] Conseiller du Roy et trésorier de ses guerres en sa duche de Milan Pour le quartier d'auril, may, & Juing derrenier pa[ssé]. Desquelz hommes d'armes & archiers les noms & surnoms s'ensuyuent.<sup>2</sup>

## ET PREMIÈREMENT.

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

Monsieur de Connestray ( <i>Cappitaine</i> ).	Doncan Macclourg.	Guillebert Haye ( <i>pour le</i> <i>reste</i> ).
Alain Estuart.	Nicolle Agardin.	Edouart Woelles.
Androu Barclay.	Anthoyne Flemyng.	Allixandre Moncourt.
Gauuain Agardin.	Jehan Abernathy.	Robin Bron ( <i>pour 1 mois</i> <i>26 jours</i> ).
Woathy Blar.	Guillaume Reclinton.	Robin Donochoye ( <i>pour le</i> <i>reste</i> ).
Guillaume Estratton.	Guillaume Leaut.	Richey Foudringnay.
James Alredes.	James Estragind.	Allixandre Quenocques.
Guillaume Criston.	Robin Carre.	Guillaume Couquebourne.
Richey Honchart.	Allixandre Grinlau.	James Saincler.
Thomas Hendry.	Pietre Acriston.	Dauid Baffour.
Androu Tours.	Androu Rameray.	James Couquebourne.
Andrew Feldy.	Honffroy Coquebourne.	James Carre.
Guillebert Flemyng.	Jehan Dameslier.	Patric Lyon.
George Glassefort.	Guillaume Nylson.	George Gutry.
Jehan Foucart.	Richey Carre.	Renault Lahyte.
Pietre Cluc.	Allixandre Lyon.	Sandy Gardenet.
Robin Honter.	Allixandre Donloup.	
Guillebert Semeton.	Thomas Ramzay ( <i>pour 1</i> <i>mois 26 jours</i> ).	

<sup>1</sup> Transcript from the original in D. Laing's Collection, kindly communicated by the Rev. John Anderson.

<sup>2</sup> This heading is torn and much defaced in the original.

## ARCHERS.

Androu Fourboys.	Sandy Harlau.	Guillaume Mein.
Jehan Hongur.	Nicolle Leele.	Adam Wotreston.
Sandy Heronyn.	Jemy Escout.	Jehan Cabrett.
Sandy Lidredal.	Reingnén Nesbett.	James Nesbet.
Sandy Baffour.	Patric Bel.	Guillaume Houble ( <i>pour 2</i>
Robert Rameray.	Jehan Hedin.	<i>moys 11 jours</i> ).
Patric Maquenal.	Huyen Hutson.	Robin Alinston <sup>1</sup> ( <i>pour le</i>
Huchon Boil.	Guillaume Gray.	<i>reste</i> ).
Androu Cranston.	Sandy Quenoques.	Robin Foucart.
Michel Ambleton.	James Laudre.	Mathou Quedy.
Henry Bel.	Guillebert Rett.	Jehan Leam.
James Rett.	Guillaume Prest.	Guillaume Hvmter ( <i>pour 1</i>
Thomas Lam.	Robin Toud.	<i>moys 26 jours</i> ).
Dony Dougleson.	George Gault ( <i>pour 1 moys</i>	Thomas Ramezay ( <i>pour le</i>
Guillaume Craffort.	<i>26 jours</i> ).	<i>reste</i> ).
Sandy Babourny.	Robin Bron ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).	Jehan Acraffourt ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).
Patric Estratton.	Guillaume Foucart ( <i>pour</i>	Guillaume Quid.
Sandy Esscremegour.	<i>1 moys 24 jours</i> ).	James Mouray.
James Aquinqued.	Robin Flemying ( <i>pour le</i>	Allixandre Lougan.
Doncan Archair.	<i>reste</i> ).	Jehan Adem.
James Meldron.	Jemy Robyson.	Thomas Gordon ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Allixandre Estuart.	Jehan Mortemer.	Woathy Blar.
Jemy Handreson.	George Medelton.	Dauid Barclay.
Robin Alain.	Guillaume Tarbar.	Jehan Acraffort ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Edouart Estourdy.	Robert Banantin.	Jehan Alosmedal.
Oliuier Flamen.	Jehan Congleton.	Gauuain Gauberthier.
Jehan Escout.	Jehan Haye.	Jehan Donbar.
Jehan Andresson.	Guillaume Estraton.	Dauid Lougmolony.
George Fourmen.	James Guihortlau.	Jemy Luuel.
Jehan Boutillier.	Henry Redpet.	Guillaume Chambre.
Robert Lougmollony.	Archambault Gud.	James Hendirson.
Jehan Guillebert.	Jehan Abourdit ( <i>pour 2</i>	Adam Aquinqued ( <i>pour 2</i>
Guillaume Laudre.	<i>moys 22 jours</i> ).	<i>moys 24 jours</i> ).
Dauid Olliffant.	Jehan Ahel ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).	Donclan Maclourg ( <i>pour le</i>
Thomas Gourdon ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).	Thomas Mouray.	<i>reste</i> ).

<sup>1</sup> This name is not very legible.



Woathy Amouray.	Edouart Leele.	Woulley Fourboys.
Androu Hingles.	Jemy Haye.	Donnolt Dougelson.
Patric Woarlau.	Sandy Gray.	André Menestroul.
Patric Saincler.	Jehan Acreston.	

Nous Charles de Condemyne Seigneur du dit lieu Conseiller et M<sup>e</sup> d'ostel ordinaire du Roy nostre Sire Commissaire dessus nomme certiffions aux gens des comptes du Roy nostre Sire et autres qu'il appartiendra auoir veu & visité par forme de Monstre & Reueue les dessus diz cinquante hommes d'armes et cent archers ordonnez & establiz à la morte paye de la Rocquette du Chasteau de Milan pour la garde seureté & deffence dicelle estans soubz la charge & conduite de Messire Guillaume Criston, Chevalier Seigneur de Connestray leur Capp<sup>ne</sup> sa personne en ce comprinse lesquelz nous auons trouuez en bon et souffisant estat & habillement de guerre pour seruir le Roy nostre Sire en la garde & deffence de la dite Rocquette du chasteau de Milan et ailleurs où Il luy plaira cappables d'auoir et receuoir les gaiges & souldes à eulx ordonnez par icelluy Sire pour le quartier d'auril, may, & juing derenier passé en tesmoing de ce nous auons signé ce présent Roolle de nostre main et fait seeller du seel de noz armes les jour et an dessus diz. (L. S.)

Ch. de la Condemyne.

En la présence de moy mace Sabouret commis de Messire Jerosme de Mallebaille, Chevalier Seigneur de Lamonta, Conseiller et M<sup>e</sup> d'ostel ordinaire du Roy nostre Sire, secretaire & contrerolleur-général de ses guerres tous les cinquante hommes d'armes et cent archers cy-dessus nommez et escriptz ordonnez et establiz à la morte paye de la Rocquette du chasteau de Milan [etc., as above]. Ont confessé auoir eu & receu de Messire Nicolas de Neufuille, Conseiller du Roy nostre dit Sire et trésorier des guerres en sa duché de Milan, la somme de troys mil sept cens cinquante liures tournoys à eulx ordonnée par icelluy Seigneur pour leur gaiges & souldes du quartier d'auril, may, & Juing derrenier passé qui est . . . de dix liures tournois pour chacun des hommes d'armes et sept liures dix solz tournois pour chacun des diz archiers par moys De la quelle somme de iij<sup>m</sup> vij<sup>o</sup> lt. les diz hommes d'armes et archers et vng chacun d'eulx particulièrement se sont tenuz et tiennent pour contens & bien payez et en ont quitte & quittent le dit de Neufuille trésorier des guerres de Milan sus dit et tous autres Tesmoing mon seing manuel cy mis a leur requeste le xiiij<sup>me</sup> jour de Juillet l'an mil cinq cens & sept.

(Signed) SABOURET.

11 September 1507.<sup>1</sup>

Roole de la Monstre et Reueue faicte à Nouarre en la duchie de Millan le unziesme jour de Septembre l'an mil cinq cens et sept, de cent hommes d'armes et neuf vingtz dix neuf archiers du nombre de cent lances Escossoises fournies des ordonnances du Roy nostre Sire estans soubz la charge et conduite de Messire Robert Stuart, Chevalier Seigneur de Saint Quantin sa personne en ce comprinse par nous François Harpin, escuier, conseiller et maistre d'ostel ordinaire du dit Seigneur commis et ordonné à faire la dite monstre et reueue icelle servant à lacquet de Jehan de Ponchier, Conseiller du Roy nostre Sire et trésorier de ses guerres, pour le quartier d'auril, may, et Juing derrenier passé desquelz hommes d'armes et archiers les noms et surnoms s'ensuiuent.

## ET PREMIÈREMENT.

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

Mons <sup>r</sup> de Saint Quantin.	Le bastard de Laual.	Jehannot de Panjas.
Thomes Linezel.	Jehan Doison.	David Linezel.
Perrt Abaglany.	David Macdouel.	Gilbert Janston.
Joc Spotsoubz.	Hector de Quiedebec.	Adam Ademeston.
Joc Carre.	James Conyngand ( <i>pour</i>	Jehan Hatton.
Messire Petri Dance.	17 <i>jours</i> ), Jehan Cambel	Jehan de Mezieux.
Mathieu Linezel.	( <i>pour 2 mois 8 jours</i> ).	François Gunyn.
Loys de Monypeny.	Maurice de Mouceaulx.	Oliuer Uruchart.
Lucas Hocgues.	Jehan Dauxes.	Joc Anzelle.
Thomes Jardin.	Thomes Raoul.	Andro Durant.
Charles Cocqueran.	Gilbert Allouant.	Joc Cotquryn.
Pan Jas ( <i>sic</i> ).	Jehan Moncrist.	Georges Tornebule.
Messire Alixandre Jardrin.	Girard Christin.	Patris Hogueleby.
Mathelin Balon.	Jehan de la Reche.	Hanibal Houach.
Andro Loude.	Michau Dance.	Georges Ramezay.
Andro Gra.	Joc Maclere.	Jehan Logain.
James Foudringane.	David Mourray.	Guillaume Nezemnet.
Phelippes Spotsoubz.	Andro de Blaqueha.	Alixandre Dixon.
Thomes Fitty.	Guillaume le Scossois.	Robin Hay.
François Chambellan.	Jehan Hocgues.	Joc Tornebule.

<sup>1</sup> Transcript from the original in D. Laing's Collection, kindly communicated by the Rev. John Anderson.

Guillaume Congleton.	Michau Liuiston.	Villefranche.
Jacques Hambleton.	Anibal Brancal.	Pierre Escambrebec.
Greuelles.	Guillaume Lescelle.	Gaultier Afflec.
Richart Hocgues.	Joc Maclour.	François Oudrespuin.
Petit Jehan Tornebule.	Jullien Ballon.	Domyngo Albauris.
Sande Bar.	Jehan de Mentrion.	Nicolas de Pictauy.
Dauid Grisson.	Jehannot Abercorne.	Andro Hariot.
Andro Dixon.	Guyot Darques.	Guillaume Stuart.
Denis Afflec.	Denis Wandel.	Alexandre Cumyn.
Robin Eslouant.	Robin Macleren.	Andro Janston ( <i>pour 17</i>
Jehan Linezel.	Jehan Assymeton ( <i>pour</i>	<i>jours</i> ), Jacques Chambre
Bertrand de Mons.	15 <i>jours</i> ).	( <i>pour 2 mois 8 jours</i> ).
Adam Wanam.	Dauid Thomesson ( <i>pour le</i>	Jehan Cabret.
Richart Raoul.	<i>reste</i> ).	Robin Stuart.
Gilbert Maclerein.	Thomes Guibson.	Loys de Mongombry.
Dauid Lisle.	Jehan Ambleton.	

## ARCHIERS.

Robin Babourne.	Pierre Janston.	Jehan de Blaqueha.
Jehan de Caldouel.	Pietre Gunyn.	Le Bastard de la Bruyere.
Adam Warmeston.	Loys Thine.	Georges le Mareschal.
Georges Esbourne.	Jehan à Tours.	Jacques Cosson.
Guillaume Bel.	Archembault Merdoc.	Albert Afflec.
Andrew Mur.	Jehan Bocanant.	Patris Andrisson.
Guillaume Astrouolle.	Jamyn Ladre.	Marin Hocgues.
François Semec.	Bertrand de la Marque.	Jehan Blaise.
Gilbert Sandrisson.	Thomes Londe.	Archambault Houelles.
Robin Morisson.	Robin Ray.	Guillaume Mourton.
Grec Chalon.	Jehan Coustz.	Jacques Balon.
Jehan Martin.	Robin Bardrene.	Sande Hairyin.
Jehan Bonnet.	Laurens Dixon.	Regnault de Sadirac.
Jehan Macquenart.	Jehan de Merlaus ( <i>pour</i>	Thomes Haye ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Patris Doncanxon.	17 <i>jours</i> ).	Jacques Nilson.
Jehan Sandelang.	Andro Janston ( <i>pour le</i>	Julien Robert.
Guillaume Cocquerain ( <i>le</i>	<i>reste</i> ).	Mannes Mouet.
<i>jeune</i> ).	Robert Chambre.	Georges Cumyn.
Jamyn Haston.	Jehan Debonain.	Jehan Ramezay.

Jamyn Lang.	Sande Honatella.	Jehan du Nou.
Archi Fauster.	Guillaume Lunston.	Gaspard Girard.
Jehan du Chesne.	Sande Grein.	Jacques Broufil.
Jamyn Straton.	Thomes Boncorps.	Regnault de Hurte.
Guillaume Benyn.	Richart Store.	Patris Cocquebourne.
Robin Cocquebourne.	Guillaume Cocqueran.	Augustin de Lisle.
Thomes Lescelle.	Dauid Poux.	Sande Robisson.
Joc Londe ( <i>pour 17 jours</i> ).	Thomes Macquyon.	Nicolas le Roy.
Thomes Straton ( <i>pour le</i>	Jehan Bretain.	Henry Locart.
<i>reste</i> ).	Robin Wach.	Alixandre Barentin.
Sarnissas ( <i>sic</i> ).	Jehan Canade ( <i>pour 17</i>	Joc Macquy.
Michau Lang.	<i>jours</i> ), Sande Asquyn	Houarry de Laual.
Andro Macapin.	( <i>pour 2 mois 9 jours</i> ).	Lancelot de Lenfonet.
Joc Mourray.	Jehan Simple.	Oliuer de Cony ( <i>pour 17</i>
Hector Auston.	Anthone Cherny.	<i>jours</i> ).
Georges Lescelle.	François Stut.	Thomes Wardelau ( <i>pour le</i>
Charles Wier.	Jamyn Wardelau.	<i>reste</i> ).
Pierre Mat.	Guillaume de Rochefort.	Guillaume Stuart.
Jehan Wilqinsson.	Regnault du Heuart.	Martin Bonnet.
Alixandre Mourray.	Loys Bonyin ( <i>pour 17 jours</i> ).	Montpesaz.
Thomes Laisne.	Grant Jehan de Lannoy	Archy Watson.
Dauid Mouet.	( <i>pour le reste</i> ).	Domyn Jon.
Joc Balon.	Jehan Goy (or Gry) ( <i>pour</i>	Joc Wardelau.
Dauid Hariot.	<i>17 jours</i> ), Pierre Roy	Jehan Parque.
Loys Oudrespuin.	( <i>pour 2 mois</i> ).	Pierre Taillefer.
Jehan Tornebule.	Marc de Beauuillier.	Anthonie Linezel.
Jamyn Hart.	Marin de Terrenoue.	Joc Bron.
Thomes de Hay ( <i>l'aîné</i> ).	Jehan de Montcrumery.	Jehan Scrimijen.
James Abercorme.	Jamyn Forbois.	Andro Watson.
Henry Stuart.	Robin Tornebule.	Richart Fur.
Andro Limynton.	Jeronyme Pajonnet.	Thomes Denyn.
Claude Bron.	Bertrand de Sales.	Guillaume Wach.
Jehannot de Troussebois.	Thomes Sparque.	Dauid Straghain.
Bernard Macacelin.	Edouart Conyngand.	Edouart Barentin.
Georges Tac.	Jehan Moreau.	Francis Ninon.
Jehan Scot.	Dauid Blesze.	Wach Couuentrix.
Maistre Marc.	Georges Aclisson.	Thomes Robisson.
Colin Maclere.	Jehan Conyngand.	Miquel Hogueues.

Georges Straton.	Jehan Bonnet.	Jehan Assimeton ( <i>pour le</i>
Joc Leon.	Nil Nezebet.	<i>reste</i> ).
Jehan d'Aubigny.	Miguel Odier.	Richart Sourdelan.
Alixandre Glendonyn.	Guillaume Linezel ( <i>pour</i>	Alixandre Hambleton ( <i>pour</i>
Sebastien du Luc.	15 <i>jours</i> ).	15 <i>jours</i> ).
Joc Finlaxon.	Thomes Pueis ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).	Thomas Afflec ( <i>pour le reste</i> ).
Loys Chesucan.	Jehan du Cren ( <i>pour</i> 17	Guillaume Adinecoa.
Dauid Stuart.	<i>jours</i> ).	Georges Cosson ( <i>pour</i> 17
Dauid Hambleton.	Andro Albauris ( <i>pour le</i>	<i>jours</i> ), Jehan Basbourne
Pasquet le Meusnier.	<i>reste</i> ).	( <i>pour</i> 2 mois 4 <i>jours</i> ).
Jehan Conyngand ( <i>pour</i>	Estene de Vinsces ( <i>pour</i> 17	Robin Stenoulx.
17 <i>jours</i> ), Jehan Chambre	<i>jours</i> ).	Jehan Grein.
( <i>pour</i> 2 mois 8 <i>jours</i> ).	Aliche Albauris ( <i>pour le</i>	Edouart Franche ( <i>pour</i> 15
Jamyn Tornebule.	<i>reste</i> ).	<i>jours</i> ), Jehan Carcade
Pierre Bardelet.	Pierre Albauris.	( <i>pour</i> 2 mois 13 <i>jours</i> ).
Jehan Quicoua.	Jehan Carre.	Jehan Corbe.
Richart Focart.	Christoffe de Massuquol.	Guillaume Patrisson.
Dauid Chambre.	Jehan Baite.	Guillaume Aburtit.
Robin Gra.	Sande Stuart.	James Red.
Anthonie Phloin.	Dauid Thomesson ( <i>pour</i>	Jehan Jacques de Corignan.
Guillaume de la Guerrande.	17 <i>jours</i> ).	ix <sup>xx</sup> xix archiers.

1515.<sup>1</sup>

C'est la monstre et reveue faicte à Harfleur le neufiesme jour de juing l'an mil cinq cens et quinze de quarante neuf hommes de guerre de morte paye du nombre de cinquante de l'ordonnance du Roy nostre Sire pour la garde et deffence du dict Harfleur, estans soubz la charge et conduite de noble es puissant Seigneur Messire Robert Stuart, chevalier, conseiller et chambellan du Roy nostre Sire, Seigneur d'Aubigny et cappitaine du dict Harfleur, par nous Guillaume Roulland, escuyer, Seigneur de la Liéguie et du Buc, commis par le Roy nostre Sire à tenir et faire les monstres et reveues de morte paye de Normendye . . . desquelz quarante neuf hommez de guerre de morte paye du nombre de cinquante les noms et surnoms enssuyvent.

## ET PREMIÈREMENT.

Allain Stuart ( <i>lieutenant</i> ).	Jehan de Clarsy.	Mathieu Lacaille.
Jehan Stuart.	Jacques Dorbeg.	Guillaume Breart.

<sup>1</sup> Clairambault, 242, No. 711.

Henry Mocquelin ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Jehan Baffon.	Pierres Bourgeoys.
Robert Escambourc.	Guillaume Huguerre.	Colin Fauterel.
Jehan Tiberge.	Jehan Bonet.	Richart Fart.
Grant Jehan Mocquelin	Regnault Lambert.	Gautier Godentey.
( <i>l'aisné</i> ).	Jehan Boachou.	Andro Logan.
Loys Guillart.	Guillaume Dorenge.	Jehan Anurey.
Pierres Estienne.	Colmer Bocquet.	Jehan le Boutiller.
Alixandre Bourdig.	François de Chedeville.	Thomas Brice.
Guillaume le Feure.	Patrice Clerc.	Pierres Admenue.
Jehan le Feure.	Jehan Prudomme.	Thomas de Chedeville.
Gillebert Godon.	Jehan Quenal.	Thomas Leplat.
Thomas Lambert.	Ollinier Carel ( <i>canonyer</i> ).	Brice Lescuyer.
Roger Duval.	Nicolas le Jendre.	Nicolas le Provost.
Jehan le Brun.	Jehan Angleby.	Mery Senses.
Guillaume de Latour.	Mathieu Matenag.	

1516.<sup>1</sup>

C'est la monstre et reveue faicte à Harfieu le vingt septiesme jour d'april l'an mil cinq cens et saize de quarante neuf hommes de guerre de morte paye du nombre de cinquante de l'ordonnance du Roy nostre Sire pour la garde et deffence du dict Harfieu, estans soubz la chierge et conduite de noble et puissant Seigneur Messire Robert Stuard, chevallier, conseiller et chambellan du dict Seigneur, Seigneur d'Aubigny, et cappittaine du dict Harfieu, par nous Guillaume Raoulland, escuier Seigneur de la Signe et du But . . . pour le cartier de juillet, aoust, et septembre derrain passé, desquelz quarante neuf hommez de morte paye du nombre de cinquante les noms et surnoms ensuyvent.

## ET PREMIÈREMENT.

Allain Stuard ( <i>lieutenant</i> ).	Guillaume Breart.	Guillaume le Feure.
Jehan Stuard.	Henry Morquellyn.	Jehan le Feure.
Jehan de Clersy.	Jehan Thyberge.	Guillebert Gourdon.
François de Fourmenthin.	Robert Ercambourg.	Roger Duval.
Jacques Dorbec.	Loys Guillart.	Jehan le Brun.
Mathieu Lacaille.	Pierres Estienne.	Guillaume de Latour.
Jehan de la Masure.	Alixandre Bourdic.	Robert Proffynel.

<sup>1</sup> Clairambault, 243, No. 747.

Guillaume de Boudeville.	Ollynier Carrel ( <i>canonyer</i> ).	Thomas Lambert.
Robert Hellyee.	Jehan Angylleby.	Jehan Naze.
Regnault Lambert.	Jehan Braiquehayee.	Pierres Adnyenue.
Jehan Brachon.	Pierre Bourgoys.	Thomas de Chiesdeville.
Guillaume Dorenge.	Nicollas Raoullin.	Thomas Leplat.
Colletet Borguet.	Collin Faultrel.	Nicolas le Prévost.
Françoys de Chiesdeville.	Andro Logan.	Mery Seure.
Patric Clerc.	Jehan Anuray.	Grant Jehan Morquellyn.
Jehan Preudhomme.	Jehan le Bouthiller.	Brice Lescuier.
Jehan Canal.		

1546.<sup>1</sup>

Roolle de la monstre et reveue faicte à Chambéry le troisième jour de may l'an mil cinq cens quarante six de soixante hommes d'armes et quatre-vingtz neuf archiers faisant le nombre de soixante lances fournies des ordonnances du Roy nostre Sire estans soubz la charge et conduite de Monsieur de Lorges (Montgomery), Chevalier de l'ordre, leur cappitaine, etc. . . .

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

Mons <sup>r</sup> de Lorges, <i>Capp<sup>ne</sup></i> .	Jehan Ogilbe, <i>Enseigne</i> .
Thomas Straton, <i>Lieutenant</i> .	Sande Husmes, <i>Guydon</i> .
James Grand, <i>M<sup>al</sup> des Logis</i> .	

## HOMMES D'ARMES A LA GRANT PAYE.

Andro Gourdon.	Patris Heryot.	George Olinphan.
Jehan Robisson.	Alexandre Foudringan.	Robert Husmes.
Thomas Mourat.	Andro Conigan.	George Lesselay.
Thomas Leviston.	Petre Carlet.	Robin Linezel.
Jehan Olcart.	Fleurant de Clercy.	David Ranan.

## HOMMES D'ARMES A LA PETITE PAYE.

James Connigan.	Petre Mazere Albanays.	Robert Donbert.
David Lynezal.	Thome Vexutan.	Dymytze Mezat Albanais.
Alexandre Meldron.	Guille Ramezel.	Robert Conyngan.
David Baudret.	Guille Grez.	Jehan Fauslet.

<sup>1</sup> Clairambault MS., 254, No. 1321.

Alexe Mayousse Albanais.	David Douglez.	Robert de Montgomery.
James Rudulphur.	David Ward.	David Morra.
Jehan Gavin.	Jehan de Romples.	Jehan Beniston.
Jehan Heryot.	Henry Ramezet.	Jourde Gremela.
David Adameston.	Archier Carrude.	James Ramezel.
Andro Husmes.	David Linezel ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Alexandre Maclour.
Jehan Fauslet.	Philippe Chambre.	Theude Barthin Albanays.
Jehan Dombar.	François de Vilescaux.	Amable du Roux.
Guillaume de Montgomery.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Cadol.	Guill <sup>e</sup> Rudulfur.
Jehan Straton.		

## ARCHIERS A LA GRANT PAYE.

Andro Mora.	Thomas Pappé.	Pierre Lalemant.
Durant Seguin ( <i>trompète</i> ).	Mathieu de Lestre.	Alexandre de Molinneuf.
George Oysmes.	Jehan de Longueval.	Charles Danaissolles.
Jehan Bourtic.	Thomas Layre.	Claude Balon.
Claude Foudringan.	Gand Nysbet.	Jehan de la Bunière ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Laurent Wardelau.	Jehan Guesdey.	Jehan Ambleton.
David Macleour.	James Cumyn ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Codebert Carre.
Sande Wardela.	Bernardin Scot.	Thomas Marguille.
Sande Grand.	James Douglez.	James Meldryn.
Robin Calender.	Gavin Husmes.	Jehan Donelop.
James Andresson.	Jacques Chambre.	Robin Nysbet ( <i>le jeune</i> ).
Estienne Chambre.	Thome Bety.	Jehan Lynezel.
Robert Deschamps.	Jehan de Bery ( <i>fourrier</i> ).	Jacques Macguet.
Jehan de Lestan.	Jehan Conyngan.	Jehan Acoste.
Jacques Leviston.	Jehan Codebert.	Patris Lynezay.
James Cumyn ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).	Loys Marc.	Sande Frezel.
Durant Laire ( <i>trompète</i> ).	Guille Stuard.	Jehan Loreston.
Petre Magon.	Archebal Cambel.	Sande Rudulfur.
Archier de Forbois.	François Balon.	Robin Nysbet ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).
Robert Carre.	Sande Yougart.	

## ARCHIERS À LA PETITE PAYE.

Jehan Foudringan ( <i>l'aisné</i> ).	Guille Leviston.	Gilles de Ganes.
Robert Conyngan.	Jehan Bafour.	Archer Cretisson.
Arthus Ricareton.	Jehan Langlay.	Jehan Terbet.



Henry Gavyn.	Pierre Coninghan.	Jehan Fergon.
Guille de la Grange.	Françoys Parc.	Guill <sup>e</sup> le Plat.
Jehan Foudringan ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Charles Oyson.	Françoys Valeé.
Hedward Davisson.	Pierre Pelegetan.	Jehan des Bordes.
Françoys Blac.	Alexandre Barclez.	Jehan Fauslet.
Guill <sup>e</sup> Nix.	Guille Lynezay.	Yvon de Route, <i>dit</i> Cadet.
Mougon Mora.	Françoise Tornebule.	Jehan Mora.

## MEN-AT-ARMS UNDER THE COMMAND OF JAMES HAMILTON, SECOND EARL OF ARRAN.

1549, Gaman de Humes, Chevalier et Porte Enseigne.<sup>1</sup>

Aug. 26. Watt Greyn (Graham), Robert Greyn,<sup>2</sup> William Maxwell of Kirkconnell.<sup>3</sup>

1550.<sup>4</sup>

Roolle de la monstre et reveue faicte à Angolesme le vingt septiesme jour de juillet mil cinq cens cinquante de soixante hommes d'armes et quatre vingtz six archiers du nombre de soixante lances fournies des ordonnances du Roy nostre Sire estant soubz la charge et conduite de Monsieur le Conte d'Haran leur capitaine sa personne y comprinse Par nous Maryn de Peschere, Chevalier Seigneur du dit lieu commissaire ordinaire des guerres commis et ordonné à faire la dicte monstre et reveue suvant laquelle payement a esté fait aus dictz hommes d'armes et archiers par Jehan Morin payeur de la dicte compagnie Pour servir à l'acquit de Maistre Nicolas de Troyes, conseiller du dict Seigneur et trésorier ordinaire de ses guerres de leurs gaiges et souldes du quartier d'avril may et juing mil cinq cens cinquante desquelz hommes d'armes et archers les noms et surnoms s'ensuyvent.

## HOMMES D'ARMES APPOINTÉZ.

Monsieur le Conte d'Haran, *Capitaine*.

Thomas Straton, *Lieutenant*.

Patric Heryot, *Guidon*.

Sand Humes, *Enseigne*.

James Grand, *Maréchal des Logis*.

<sup>1</sup> Registres de Donzeau.

<sup>2</sup> Archives Généalogiques . . . de la noblesse de France, etc., par M. Lainé, vol. ii, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Wm. Fraser, The Book of Carleverock, vol. i., p. 600. 2 vols. 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. Clairambault, 255, No. 1377.

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Henry Guvin.	Scaudt Gourdon.	Esivard de Toussaintz bart.
Scaudt Ogilbi.		

1554.<sup>1</sup>

Roolle de la monstree et reveue faicte en rober au Mantz le vingt . . . de janvier l'an mil cinq cens cinquante quatre de soixante hommes d'armes et quatre vingt dix archers faisant le nombre de soixante lances fournies [des ordonnances du Roy] nostre Sire estans soulz la charge et conduite de Monsieur le conte d'Aranc leur cappitaine sa personne y prinse par nous Maryn de Peschere Seigneur du dit lieu commissaire ordinaire des guerres commis et ordonné à la dicte monstre et reveue suyvant laquelle payement a esté fait à iceulx hommes d'armes et archers par Jacques Huppeau commis à faire le dict paiement de la dicte compagnie de leurs gaiges en son lieu au quartier d'octobre, novembre, et décembre, mil cinq cens cinquante quatre pour servir à l'acquit de Messire Jehan Gaultier, Conseiller du Roy et trésorier ordinaire de ses guerres desquelz hommes d'armes et archers les noms et surnoms s'ensuyvent.

Monsieur le conte d'Aranc, *Cappitaine*.Grand Humes, *Lieutenant*.Patric Heriot, *Guidon*.Jacques Craffort, *Enseigne*.Jammes Grandz, *Maréchal des Logis*.

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<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. Clairambault, 257, No. 1499.

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Andro Douglas ( <i>le jeune</i> ).	Davyd Dromont.	Patric Heryn.
Robert Oulliesmes.	Guillaume Robilon.	Andro Boulhie.
M[essire] GOVYN MARÉCHAL. Jehan de Longueval.		

1558.<sup>1</sup>

Roolle de la monstre et reveue faicte en armes au camp près Thionville le xv<sup>e</sup> jour de juing l'an mil cinq cens cinquante huict de trente cinq hommes d'armes et cinquante sept archers soubz la charge et conduite Monseigneur d'Aubigny leur cappitaine.

Jacques Thezart, *Enseigne*; David Morra (Moray), *Guidon*; Esme Stuyer, Robert Spens, Jehan Thezart, Alexandre Fraisel, Pierre and Robert Genston (Johnston), *hommes d'armes*; André Spens, Guillaume Logan, Gelly de Montet, Robert Franche, Philbert Heliot, William Seytoun.<sup>2</sup>

[Most of the Men-at-arms are French.]

1587-89.

Frais de transport, d'Écosse à la Rochelle, des troupes amenées par le capitaine Douyns :

Gratification à Alexandre Seton, gentilhomme Écossais.  
 Indemnité au S<sup>r</sup> de Hunter, gentilhomme Écossais, pour lever des troupes.  
 Entretien du Capitaine Coleville, Écossais.  
 Gratification à de Bruchs, gentilhomme Écossais sortant des pages de l'écurie du roi.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archives Nationales, K. 92, No. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The History of the House of Seytoun, by Sir R. Maitland, p. 35. Glasgow, 1829, in 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Archives des Basses Pyrénées, B. 2899, 2909, 2917, 2935, 2946, 2986, 3025.

1613.

Ludovic, duc de Lenox, C<sup>te</sup> de Darneley, Grand Chambellan et amiral d'Écosse  
*Capitaine, lieutenant* de la Compagnie de Cent hommes d'armes Écossais, des ordon-  
nances du roy de France, sous la charge M<sup>re</sup> le Duc d'York, 8 janvier 1613.

Jacques de Colvil, Baron de Wymes, *Capitaine, Lieutenant* de la C<sup>ie</sup> des 100  
hommes d'armes Écossais.

Guillaume Stuard, *Guidon*.

George Kyer, *M<sup>ai</sup> des logis*.

Jehan d'Hamilton, David Drumont, Charles Maxuel, Jacques de Maleville,  
Seigneur de Migniers, John Wood,—*Hommes d'armes*.<sup>1</sup>

1633.<sup>2</sup>

Roolle de la monstre faicte de la compagnie de cent hommes d'armes Escossois  
des ordonnances du Roy soubz la charge de Monsieur le Marquis de Gordone, pour  
les surtaux que sa M<sup>te</sup> a ordonné (pour esviter la foule et oppression de son peuple)  
estre payez aux cheffz, hommes d'armes et officiers de lad. Comp<sup>nie</sup>, pour leur donner  
moyen de subsister attendant leur monstre, pendant deux mois de la présente année  
MVI<sup>e</sup> trente-trois . . . par Pierre Delon, sieur de Bazin, commissaire extraordi-  
naire des guerres et commis à la conduite de lad. Comp<sup>nie</sup>, et Jehan Sublet, con-  
troolleur ordinaire des guerres, deppartir à faire les monstres d'icelle selon et ainsy  
qu'il s'en suit.

## PREMIEREMENT.

## CHEFZ.

Georges de Gordone, marquis du d. lieu, *Capitaine* de lad. compagnie, présent et  
passé cy à luy pour son surtaux pendant deux mois à raison de comme par jour  
suivant le susd. estat de sa Ma<sup>te</sup> iii<sup>e</sup> xxiiii livres.

André Gray, Baron du dit lieu, *Lieutenant*.

Henry Campbell, *Sous-lieutenant*.

Colin Campbell, *Enseigne*, Chevalier de Lundyj.

Robert Douglas, *Guidon*.

Thomas MacDougall, *M<sup>ai</sup> des Logis*.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. 26,471, Nos. 12-15.

<sup>2</sup> This muster roll, which is incomplete, was kindly supplied by M. Francisque-Michel.

## HOMMES D'ARMES.

George de Gordone.	Thomas Gardyner.	Richard Brown.
James Graham.	Robert Inglis.	John Thomson.
William Colville.	Alexander Panton.	John Archibald.
William Gordon.	Thomas Rollock.	Joshua Jacob.
William Gibbs.	André Car.	Blanche Scott.
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James Wemyss.	Roger Houghton.	James Gordon.
Simon Digby.	James Mitchell.	Alexander Gordon.
John Colville.	Thomas Goodwyn.	Alexander Maxwell.
William Turny.	James Douglas.	Alexander de Randel.
John Abercromby.	Anthony Messenger.	George Rollok.
Patrick Forbes.	Thomas Hobray.	

1636. The Marquis of Gordon remains in command of the same company of men-at-arms.

James Douglas, . . . *Guidon*. Robert Douglas, *Sous-lieutenant*.<sup>1</sup>

1646. Seton.

1647-49. Patrick Gordon, *Maréchal des Logis* des Gendarmes Écossais.<sup>2</sup>

1650. Sir Florence Odonachie.<sup>3</sup>

1651-52. Charles Davidson, *Guidon et Enseigne* dans la C<sup>ie</sup> des Gendarmes Écossais de Sa Majesté.<sup>4</sup>

Robert Douglas, *Sous-lieutenant*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> War Office (Paris) MSS., vol. 27, No. 47<sup>bis</sup>; vol. 25; vol. 147, No. 356.

<sup>2</sup> F. Blackhall's Memoirs.

<sup>3</sup> Wood's Baronage of Scotland, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Davidson, son of William Davidson, M.D. Cf. Notice of W. Davidson, M.D., first Professor of Chemistry and Director of the Jardin des Plantes, Paris, by J. Small, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, June 9, 1873, p. 265).

<sup>5</sup> War Office (Paris) MSS., vol. 132.





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